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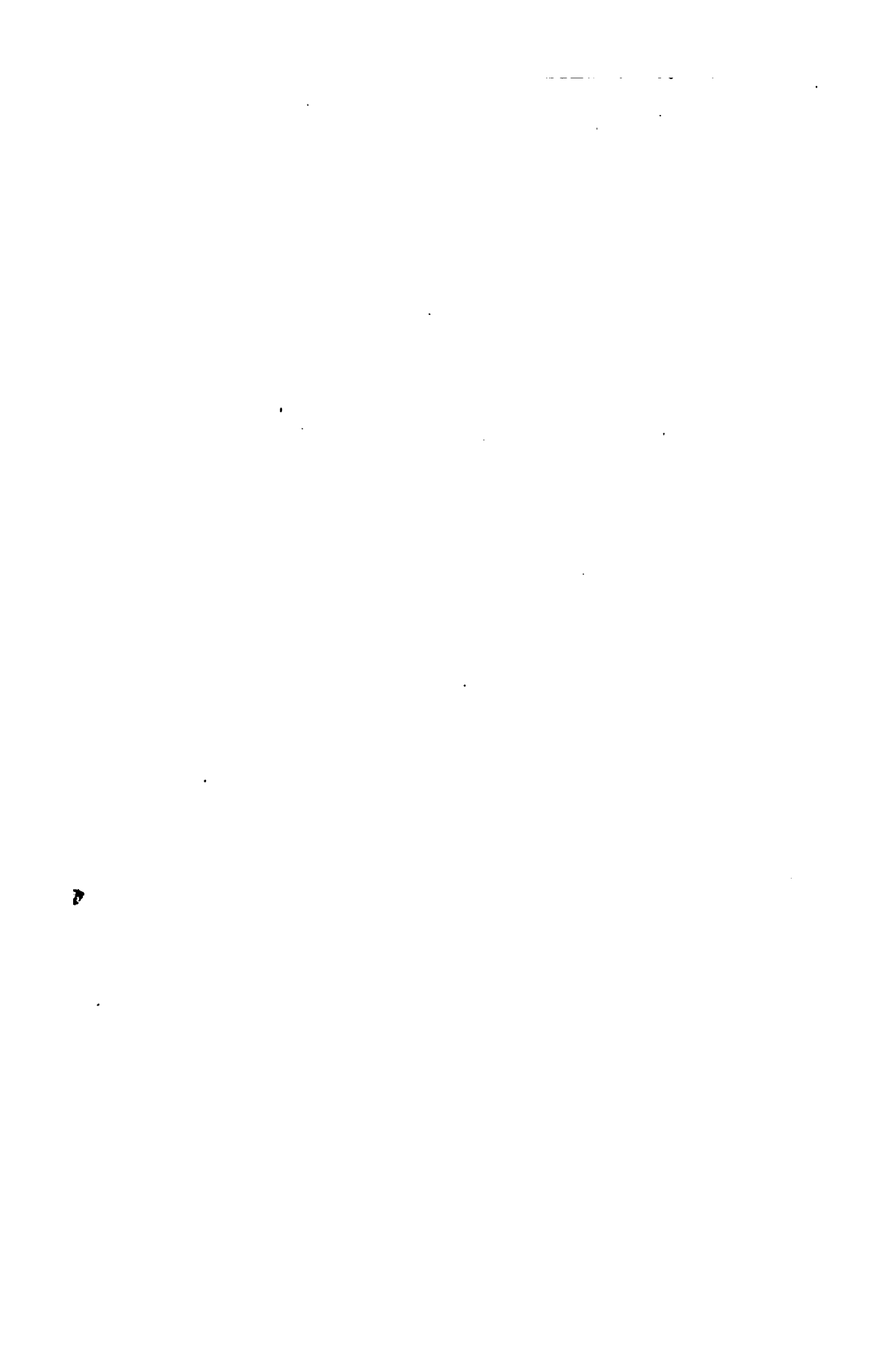
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PROCEEDINGS
OF
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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

NOVEMBER, 1891,

TO

JUNE, 1892.

VOL. XIV. TWENTY-SECOND SESSION.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

First Meeting, 3rd November, 1891.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

— ❦ —

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., D.C.L., LL.D.:—
Ægyptaica; comprising a catalogue of Egyptian antiquities collected in the years 1856, 1857, and now deposited in the Museum of the University of Sydney; together with an account of some remains of the "Disk Worshippers," as also of some Funeral Hieroglyphic Inscriptions found at Memphis: accompanied also by a *fac-simile* and translation from a Hieratic Papyrus containing portions of the Book of the Dead. London. 8vo. 1891.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—Catalogue of Hebraica and Judaica in the Library of the Corporation of the City of London, with a subject Index by the Rev. A. Löwy. Printed under the direction of the Library Committee. London. 8vo. 1891.

From the Publishers, Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.:—Buried Cities and Bible Countries, by George St. Clair, F.G.S. London. 8vo. 1891. (Illustrations.)

From the Author, Gray Hill:—With the Beduins: a Narrative of Journeys and Adventures in unfrequented parts of Syria. London. 8vo. 1891. (Illustrations.)

From the Author, C. P. Tiele:—Geschiedenis vanden Godsdienst in de oudheid tot op Alexander der Groote. 1st vol., 1st part. Amsterdam. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, M. G. Rollin-Jacquemyns:—Armenia, the Armenians, and the Treaties. London. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—Degli Hittim o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni Ricerche di Archeologica Biblico-Italica. Part XI, Part XII (?), Part XIV (?).

Estratto dalla Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XIV. Vol. XI. 1891. 8vo.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—Die Uſebti des  in Museum Westreenianum des Haag. 8vo. 1891.

Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Museum zu Agram. 8vo. 1891.

Perseus in Aegypten. (Zu Herodot. II, 91.) 8vo.

Alfred von Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften herausgegeben von Franz Rühl. (Notice of.) 1891. 4to.

From the Author, M. J. Menant:—Lecture phonétique de l'idéogramme royal Hétéen. 8vo. Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lett. Comptes Rendus. 1891. (Extract.)

From the Translator, James Darmesteter:—Une Prière Judéo-Persane. Paris. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Dr. Fritz Hommel:—Das Semitische Imperfect im altaegyptischen nachgewiesen. 8vo. Ausbach. 1891.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next meeting on the 1st December:—

Percy Edward Newberry, 5, Callow Street, Chelsea.

James Bain, 1, Haymarket, S.W.

Prof. John D. Davis, Ph.D., Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

R. G. Haliburton, Q.C., D.C.L., 28, Pall Mall.

J. J. Tylor, Mayfield, Sussex.

H. Welter, 52, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

George W. Fraser, 40, Evelyn Gardens, South Kensington.

The Right Rev. H. H. Montgomery, D.D., Lord Bishop of Tasmania, Bishops court, Hobart, Tasmania.

Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Semitic Languages, University of Chicago.

Charles William Previte Orton, Cambridge Villa, Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Royal Library, Stockholm.

The Library of the South Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., U.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. James Marshall, M.A., (Member of Council), entitled, "Some Points of Resemblance between Ancient Nations of the East and West."

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball, Mr. William G. Thorpe, F.S.A., and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.



SOME POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN ANCIENT
NATIONS OF THE EAST AND WEST.

BY REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.

The scope and motive of the present paper will perhaps best be explained by stating how it came to be written. The writer was struck by the hardihood of assertion which recent critics of the Old Testament have allowed themselves in reference to legislation. A code of laws is assumed to have been promulgated in the supposed interest of a supposed class, at any time which suits the exigencies of the critics' argument; and the acceptance of such a code by the people—again with all the veneration which the argument requires—is apparently regarded as too obvious to need proof.

In testing such assertions a very cursory investigation will suffice to prove that ancient laws are not made, but grow: and that a code is little more than a registration and definition of pre-existing principles, beliefs, and customs. The well known description in the *Antigone* of Sophocles of the unwritten and immutable laws of the gods, as living not to-day and yesterday, but everlastingly, and that no one knows the time of their manifestation, is historically true, as well as dramatically forcible and appropriate.

The strong grasp of the past upon the present in the matter of legislation, is unconsciously attested by ancient writers who have attempted to construct ideal commonwealths, as Plato in his *Republic*, and in his maturer work the *Laws*, and Cicero in his similarly entitled treatises. Their interest does not consist in any boldness or wealth of imaginative invention. Their value is chiefly historical. They help us to reproduce the original spirit and form of subsequently elaborated laws, and guide us some steps back along the path of the ἡγρᾶττα νόμιμα.

The original intention was to adduce arguments and facts to show that the secular part of the Mosaic legislation, with portions of the ceremonial, had its roots deeply sunk in antiquity and widely spread, not merely among many nations, but also among different

families of mankind. But it was found that this particular line of investigation was being actually prosecuted; and consequently this paper assumes a more desultory character. The purpose had in view is to give instances of beliefs and practices existing among various peoples which appear to be unaccountable except on the hypothesis of a community of origin, or early intercourse.

It may be as well to premise a truism—namely, that the argumentative value of a custom or belief may be in inverse proportion to its intrinsic importance. There are thoughts and convictions—common to the noblest part of human nature—which in successive generations the individual seems to re-discover for himself, as his intellect matures and his experience is widened: which, theology apart, it is strictly philosophical to regard as the inheritance which an external Power has bestowed upon his creatures. These thoughts, and the ideas which cluster round the impressive facts and phenomena of nature, as the sunlight and darkness, the sky and the storm, the earth and the sea, are very weak evidence of ancient intercourse between nations, whereas a most cogent argument may be based on some insignificant custom, the meaning of which may be unintelligible to one or more of the nations among which it is observed.

Thus there is a general resemblance between the cosmogonies of the Babylonians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, and there are points of contact with the Egyptian and Indian systems as far as these latter can be constructed by inference. But the argument for an early association of races derived from this similarity is not so strong as that afforded by a peculiar but unimportant belief which could hardly have arisen independently in so many quarters.

In defiance then of the Horatian warning, we will begin from the egg. In Egypt Seb was called the great cackler, and there are traces of a mundane egg which he divided or hatched (P. le Page Renouf, *Hib. Lect.*, Vol. III), and in the Book of the Dead there is the appeal, "O Ra in thine egg." Also in a magic papyrus (*Records of the Past*, Vol. X, p. 147), "Liquid egg found on earth! Substance of the Sesoun gods, great in heaven, great in hades! Who is in the nest over the waves. May I liquify with thee in water!" And on the sarcophagus of Seti I (*Records of the Past*, Vol. X, p. 92) are figured criminals in Ra's great hall, those who have insulted Ra on the earth, "those who have cursed that which is in the Egg."

Philo Byblius (Eusebius, P. E. I, 10) shows that the idea was tradi-

tional among the Phœnicians, when in his cosmogony he describes intelligent creatures as being formed in resemblance to the shape of an egg.

Among the Aryans of India the same notion is found. (Manu, I, 8, 9). "He desiring to produce things of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them. That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahmah, the progenitor of the whole world."

Dennis (*Etruria*, Vol. I, p. 457) describes Egyptian ostrich eggs found in the necropolis of Vulci, painted with winged camels and other figures, and pierced with holes for suspension: and he refers to the great roc's egg of the Arabian Nights, and to the fact that ostrich eggs are suspended in mosques at the present day. (Compare also Eusebius, P. E. III, 2, 29; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, p. 370; Diod. Sic., I, 27.)

Wilkinson (III, 91) infers that they were suspended in the temples of the Egyptians, as they still are in the churches of the Copts.

To this practice there is a remarkable parallel in Sparta. Pausanias (III, 16) in his description of the temple of Hilaëra and Phœbe, speaks of an egg hanging from the roof, wrapped in ribbons, which was held to be the egg produced by Leda. The Scholiast on Callimachus (*Diana*, 232) ascribes the parentage of the egg to Jupiter and Nemesis, and adds that Leda warmed it and hatched from it the Dioscuri and Helen. Hyginus (*Poet.*, A. II, 8) agrees with the Scholiast, and distinctly states the fact, to which all probability pointed, that the myth was at home in Babylonia. According to this author (*Fab.* 197) an egg of vast size is said to have fallen into the river Euphrates, which fishes rolled to the bank; doves sat upon it, and when it was warmed it hatched Venus, who was afterwards called Dea Syria.

A third variety of the story seems to have been current in China. A lady was bathing, when a swallow dropped an egg, which she took and swallowed; and from this came Hsieh (note Shih King, p. 307).

In Plutarch (*Mor.*, p. 636) there is a discussion whether the egg or the bird comes first in order of time; and the Orphic tradition is referred to, which not only gave the egg precedence to the bird, but attributed to it universally priority to all creation. He further adds that the egg was associated with the Bacchic worship.

At Rome, according to Varro (*de R. R.*, I, 2), the egg was carried first in the procession in honour of Ceres.

The metdæ which numbered the courses in the Circus were of oval shape, having reference to the Dioscuri, famous for their horsemanship, and were consequently a tempting mark for one of Tertullian's sledge-hammer blows. (*De Spect.*, 8.)

The extant passage in the Orphica, apparently referred to by Plutarch as above quoted, speaks of "the bi-sexual egg-born Protogonus," and it is noticeable that this same Protogonus occurs in the cosmogony of Philo Byblius. There is a similar correspondence in the well-known lines of Aristophanes (*Aves*, 693), which represent "black-winged night in the immeasurable folds of Erebus begetting the primeval egg whence Love was born." This Love, ἔρως ὁ πόθεινος, is identical with the πόθος of Philo.

An egg of alabaster was found by Dr. Schliemann at Tiryns, and another of aragonite at Troy. A large egg is figured on a Hittite sculpture at Iasili Kaia. (Perrot, *Sardinia*, II, 137.) A detailed account of the mythology of the egg will be found in the Clementine Homilies (VI, 5, 6).

The nations of antiquity had a vivid recollection of the successive inventions of the arts of life. The proof is abundant for western nations, but it embraces China as well. To one early king, Soui-gin-chi, is attributed the discovery of fire; to another, Fou-hi, that of iron; to another, Chin-nong, tillage and the selection of grain and herbs; and to a fourth, Hoang-ti, the substitution of brick built houses for tents formed of boughs. The last mentioned fact is significant. The early use of sun-dried bricks in Egypt, in Babylonia and Assyria, at Mycenæ and Troy, is proved incontestably notwithstanding the perishable nature of the material. And it is remarkable that at Athens, where stone was plentiful, Aeschylus makes his Prometheus vaunt himself as the introducer of brick-constructed dwellings, οὔτε πλινθιφεῖς δόμους προσείλους ἤσαν. (*P. V.*, 458.) The attribution of the ascending steps toward civilization to different gods by Sanchoniathon (*Phil. Byb. Fr.*, Vol. III, p. 566) is very similar to the Chinese account, and includes the invention of the use of brick.

The statement in the Laws of Manu (v. 23) that in ancient times the sacrificial cakes were made of the flesh of eatable beasts and birds, recalls a period when men lived on their flocks and herds and such game as they could capture. In the cakes themselves used at

sacrifices in the West as well as the East, and in the prohibition of leaven to the Flamines at Rome, may be traced the progress of invention, first pounded corn, then flour ground by hand mills, lastly bread properly so called. (Cf. Servius, *Aen.* I, 179, and Schleimann, *Troja*, p. 45.)

Tradition preserves the memory not only of the change itself, but also of the sentiments with which the change was regarded. The old nomad viewed with indignation and contempt the settled and unadventurous life of the husbandman. Death was the reward that Triptolemus received for his invention. Varro, quoting Dicaearchus, speaks of a time when men knew not how to plough or sow or plant, and states that agriculture was adopted as a thing of quite an inferior grade, and that it took a subordinate part as the *tibia sinistra* did to the *tibia dextra*. That is, to use a cognate metaphor, that agriculture played second fiddle to pasture.

The feeling is exemplified in the Rechabites; perhaps may be traced in the history of Cain and Abel; and possibly in the title of shepherds or shepherds of men given to princes in Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, China and, as every reader of Homer knows, among the Hellenic race. It has not yet died out. Mr. Stanley, in *Darkest Africa*, writes of Wahuma, a harmless and well conditioned race with Caucasian features, who believe themselves to have come from the North, and are herdsmen, contrasted with Negro hoe-men, whom they despise.

In the train of agriculture follows property in land, with custom, limiting and protecting it, which soon hardens into law. Hence the civilizers of society are also lawgivers. For the Greeks there is *Δημήτηρ Θεσμοφόρος* with her Thesmophoria celebrated at Athens, Thebes, Ephesus, and doubtless many other cities; and Ceres Legifera for the Italians. Oannes is lawgiver to the Chaldaeans, as well as teacher of the arts of life, in which husbandry is included. (*Syncellus*, p. 28.) Osiris performs the same double office for the Egyptians (Plut., *Isis*, p. 356), and according to Diodorus, Isis declares, "I am queen of the whole land, and the laws which I have enacted no one can annul."

Separate property in land necessitated mensuration, especially in the early seats of civilization; the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, and similarly situated lands in China, which were liable to inundation. In Italy the surface measures were the *actus*, a square of 120 feet, and the *juger*, of 240 by 120 feet; these numbers being multiples of 60, the base of our own division of the circle and hour, derived from the

astronomical system of the Babylonians. Oannes has 60 for his numerical sign. The same number 60 is the chronological cycle used by the Chinese, the *Li* was 360 paces. Plutarch mentioning 60 years as the limit of the crocodile's life in Egypt, remarks that that is the astronomer's base number.

Mensuration needs accurate standards.

These standards being a visible embodiment of law, like laws have a sacred character. There is the shekel of the Sanctuary, and the care of the Levites for all manner of measure and size. (1 Chron. xxiii, 29.) The Romans kept scales in the temple of Saturn. (Varro, L. L. V, 185.) Of the Egyptian cubit, each inch was dedicated to a deity (Wilk., II, 383); the Stolistes carried the cubit of righteousness in procession (Clem., *At. Strom.*, VI, 4), and the dead man upon his trial protests, "I am not a falsifier of the measures in the temples. I do not add to the weight of the scale. I do not falsify the indicator of the balance. (Page Renouf, *Hib. Lect.*, p. 196.) Constantine transferred the cubit from the temple of Serapis to the Christian Church. (Socr., I, 15.)

In China Shun, who is placed 2235 years B.C., is said to have made uniform the standard tubes with the measures of length and capacity and the steelyards. (*Shû King*, 39.) Here it may be noted that China possessed 4000 years ago what is still a desideratum in Europe, a standard pitch in music. And it is a fundamental idea among the people, repeatedly referred to and applied, that harmony, which is most simply exemplified in sound, extends through government, religion, ceremonial, manners, inward thought and outward action. Each month even had its characteristic note of music. I will quote one striking passage from the *Shû King* (p. 44).

The Tî said, "Kwei, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle dignified; the strong not tyrannical; and the impetuous not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonised themselves by the standard tubes. In this way spirits (*i.e.*, of ancestors) and men are brought into harmony." Kwei said: "I smite the sounding stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance." In other places the spirits are said to come to the music.

The first reading of this passage suggests the correspondence with the legend of Orpheus attracting by his lyre the trees and animals,

and afterwards in Hades beguiling the shades. "The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" and the blind harper Thamyris may be called as witnesses. For the Chinese had anticipated the Normal College, and had established in the court of the temple of Kau a school of blind musicians consisting of two ranks of directors and three grades of performers.

But closer consideration of the passage will reveal a far more essential and primeval connection between Chinese thought and the intellectual cultivation of the West. The few words just quoted are an abstract of the elaborate disquisitions of Plato, when he speaks of music as the subtle spiritualizing and refining influence which harmonised the whole of his ideal commonwealth as well as each of its component parts into the perfection of order. The Chinese matter of fact division of Music into Poems, Histories, Ceremonies, and Music proper, corresponded to the Greek personification of the nine Muses.

The Spartans, in their welcome of Tyrtaeus and discouragement of all effeminate poems, were only walking in the steps of the son of Heaven who, when he inspected, as before stated, the standard tubes and measures, also insisted on being informed of the songs and poems that were popular in the district.

In connection with the standard tubes, and in various other places, reference is made to the stalks and tortoise as instruments of divination. Divination by the stalks of the *Khi* plant is of great antiquity. It is in full vigour in the *Shu King*, which is assigned to the 23rd century B.C. Now M. François Lenormant (*Chald. Magic*, p. 237) says that the magi "foretold the future by throwing little sticks of tamarisk wood: this custom is said, by classical writers to have been of Scythian or Turanian origin." He quotes Ezekiel xxi 21: "The king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way . . . to use divination: he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the Teraphim, he looked in the liver," and mentions that wands or arrows of fate are marked on many Babylonian cylinders as held in the hand of Marduk or of Istar. To this may be added the following from the Babylonian Creation Tablets: "I called the sons of the augurs, seven against seven I arranged them. I placed the holy reeds (?) " The "Lots" in the Koran, chap. ii, according to Sale, refer to a game with arrows much in use among pagan Arabs, to the prevalence of which Pocock bears witness. The *πάβδοι* which, according to Philo Byblius (Fr., Vol. III, 365, Didot),

were consecrated to certain personages of Phœnician mythology, may have a reference to this ancient practice of divination, which was definitely preserved by the ancient Germans, who used to cut and mark twigs of a fruit bearing tree and throw them at random on a white garment. (Tac., *Germ.*, 10.)

In later times the stalks were viewed in connection with a series of hexagrams composed of undivided and divided lines variously arranged. This mode of divination, into which number seems to have entered as a factor, is far too difficult a subject to be meddled with by an outsider. But there is one significant fact about which there is no obscurity whatever. The undivided lines corresponded to odd numbers, which were called male numbers, and the divided lines to even or female numbers.

Now in the Pythagorean system of philosophy it is well known that the doctrine of number held a foremost place, and the description of odd numbers as male, and even numbers as female was at the very basis of the system, and is perpetuated by subsequent writers, including Plato, Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Diogenes Laertius.

The other mode of divination by the tortoise is thus described by Mr. Legge (*Shû King*, p. 145, note): "The way of divination by the shell was by the application of fire to scorch it, till the indications appeared on it." It is now suggested that by this a light is thrown on a somewhat unaccountable fact related by Herodotus. Croesus tested various oracles by requiring them to tell what he was doing on a particular day. What he did was to cut a tortoise and a lamb in pieces and boil them together in a cauldron. The apparent want of meaning in the act has been remarked by commentators. But if there were a reminiscence of the Chinese practice, then the test employed would have an analogy with the oracular divination to which it was applied. That such a reminiscence did prevail in other parts of the East appears from Pliny's description of certain gems: "The Chelonia," he says, "is the eye of the Indian tortoise, of most portentous quality according to the falsehoods of the Magi. For they undertake that when the mouth is washed with honey, and this is put upon the tongue, it will supply a divination of future events There are also Chelonitides like tortoises, from which they make many vaticinations with a view to stilling tempests. But a particular kind which is sprinkled with spots of gold, when it is thrown into boiling water with a scarabæus, stirs up tempests."

The resemblance between this last sentence and the passage quoted from Herodotus is most striking. There is also a suggestion of a possible connection between the Egyptian scarabæus and the Chinese tortoise. Lastly, it may be noted that the tortoise is the name of a constellation, and that a Peloponnesian coin had the impress of a tortoise; and that while the first incarnation of Vishnu is in the form of a fish, suggesting a reminiscence of the story of Oannes, the second is in the form of a tortoise.

The best known states of antiquity trace their origin to immigration. The Chinese also believe that their remote ancestors entered the middle kingdom from the South-west. Immigration and conquest were nearly synonymous. Next followed partition of land, as for instance in Palestine, Greece, and Latium, and again in China, where as in Italy an *ager publicus* was reserved; and it is mentioned, as a proof of the patriotism of the Chinese, that in time of drought the people prayed that rain might fall first on the public land, and afterwards on their own allotments.

Apportionment of land implied measures and limits. Measures, as we have seen, had a sacred sanction, and the boundary stones in a still greater degree were believed to be under divine protection. "Cursed is he who removeth his neighbour's landmark," said the Mosaic Law. From Festus it appears that Numa decreed that any one who ploughed up a boundary stone should be accursed with his oxen. The well known worship paid to Terminus, and in Greece to the *Βαιτύλια*, has the same bearing. According to Plato (*Legg*, p. 842), a witness to the past, it was a law of Ζεὺς Ὀπίος that no one should move landmarks. The Babylonian boundary stelæ are inscribed with imprecations on any one who should tamper with them.

The person most to be dreaded in this respect was the neighbour. The minute provisions of Roman Law show how jealously encroachments on land or its rights were guarded against. The Agricultural Poem of Hesiod breathes suspicion and jealousy against a neighbour, which in process of time became proverbial, *Δυσμενὴς καὶ βάσκανος ὁ τῶν γειτόνων ὄφθαλμός, φησὶν ἡ παροιμία.* (*Alciphron*, Ep. 15.) And any one who has read Lady Verney's brochure will see that like causes still produce like effects, and that this mutual dislike and distrust is still rife among the freeholders of small properties in France. It is a strong argument in favour of the antiquity of the Mosaic legislation, that duty towards one's neighbour should be the form under which the people were taught their relative obligations. I

may remark that Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his account of Numa's legislation respecting boundaries (*L. II. 74*), uses the very word which is found in the Septuagint as the translation for "Thou shalt not covet," τοῦ μηδένα τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ περὶ τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς τῶν κτήσεων νομοθεσία.

Life under these conditions is very simply but beautifully depicted in a passage occurring in a very ancient collection of Chinese poems called the *Shih King*: "There are the master and his eldest son; His younger sons and all their children; Their strong helpers and their hired servants. Now the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds! The husbands think lovingly of their wives; The wives keep close to their husbands. Then with their sharp ploughshares They set to work on the South-lying acres.

"They sow their various kinds of grain. Each seed containing in it a grain of life.

"In unbroken lines rises the blade, And well-nourished the stalks grow long.

"Luxuriant looks the young grain. And the weeders go among it in multitudes.

"Then come the reapers in crowds, And the grain is piled up in the fields. Myriads and hundreds of thousands and millions of stacks; For spirits and for sweet spirits. To offer to our ancestors, male and female. And to provide for all ceremonies."

It is hardly possible for a lover of Homer to read this short idyll without being reminded of the agricultural scene represented on the shield of Achilles. The whole cast of thought and tone of feeling are the same. The writers of the two poems, widely separated as they probably are in point of time, must have had some closer and more essential connection than the mere possession of a common humanity.

The scene of a still more exquisite idyll might well be laid in China. Ruth might there have gleaned unmolested. The Book of Poetry (*Li Ki*, 27) thus almost echoes the words of Leviticus, "There shall be handfuls left on the ground, And ears here and there untouched; For the benefit of the widow."

When we have seen enough of life in the fields, Virgil (*Æn.*, VIII, 408) will lead us indoors, and present us to the wife reviving before the dawn the slumbering fires, and calling her maids to their long tasks of spinning, that she may be able to bring up her children and preserve the honour of her husband's bed.

The description has great poetical charm, but it is not founded upon imagination but upon truth ; it is the evidence of an unbroken tradition from remote ages. So early as the Rig Veda the custom is established : "She shines upon us like a young wife, raising every living thing to go to his work." Plato (*Legg.*, p. 808) says that it was a disgrace to the mistress of a house to be called in the morning, but that it was her duty to rouse her household and set them to work. And in the picture of the virtuous woman whose price is above rubies, which concludes the Book of Proverbs, one of the touches is, "She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household and a portion to her maidens." *

Here I will venture to remark that whatever may be the date of the redaction of the Book of Proverbs in its present form, its contents give evidence of great antiquity. The mixture of precepts concerning religion and high morality with prudential hints, and rules for manners and personal deportment are strictly in accordance with the character of the Chinese Sacred Books, and among other Egyptian texts with the Maxims of Ptah-Hotep, which though said to be the oldest book in the world yet appeals to a higher antiquity.

Again, the grouping of things by number as for instance, "these six things doth the Lord hate, yea seven are an abomination unto Him," is after the method of the Chinese books, which speak of five classes of ceremonies, five orders of relationship, nine services, five cardinal virtues, four conveyances, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Leaving the subject of religion as too wide, I will ask leave to remark on one branch of it, namely, sins of ignorance. The sin offerings prescribed in Leviticus are in general for sins of ignorance. One of the laws of Manu prescribes that a Brâhmana must once a year perform a *krikkra* penance in order to atone for unintentionally eating forbidden food. A curious confirmation of this is found in Philostratus (*A. V.*, III, 14), who speaks of a well and crater of fire where the Indians were purified from involuntary offences. Ovid (*Fasti*, IV, 749) enumerates various acts by which the rustic gods might be unwittingly offended, and which were to be atoned for at the annual sacrifice of the Palilia. Macrobius (*Sat.*, I, 16) also

* In the recently discovered *Mimiambi* of Herondas we hear the actual, and somewhat shrewish tones of the lady wakening her female slaves :

Ἀνοστηθι δούλη· Ψύλλα, μέχρις τεῦ κείσει
ρίγχουσα, τὴν δὲ χοῖρον αὐονὴ δρύψει ;
ἢ πρυσμενείς συ μέχεις εὐ ἥλιος θάλψει ;

speaks of unintentional breaches of the sanctity of Holy days, and adds that there was no sacrifice of expiation for the deliberate offender, "prudentem non posse expiari."

In the Accadian hymns the fear of divine vengeance for the breach of special prohibitions seems constantly to be deepening into a spiritual sense of guilt. "O my goddess that knowest that I knew not, my transgression is great, my sins are many. The transgression that I committed I knew not. The sin that I sinned I knew not. The forbidden thing did I eat. The forbidden thing did I trample upon."

Manu supplements the Indian code respecting uncleanness with a very necessary dispensation, which must have been tacitly adopted in other countries. The taint of impurity does not fall on kings nor on the kinsmen of those who have fallen in battle. So in Egypt the priest in his public morning prayer execrating the sins of ignorance, exempted the king from all charges, turning aside the guilt and punishment from him to his subordinates. (Diod. Sic., I, 70.)

To end this paper I will mention one or two minute correspondences that have struck me as very suggestive. In the time of Shun of Yü, more than 2000 years B.C., the Chinese used earthenware coffins (*Li K'i*, Vol. I, 125); several examples of earthenware coffins of indefinite antiquity are extant at Mugheir or Ur of the Chaldees. This fact is a corroboration of the Chinese tradition that their remote ancestors entered the country from the south-west.

The tripods made by Vulcan (Hom. Il., XVIII, 375) are said to have been set on wheeled bases,

ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῶν δυσοίᾳτ' ἀγῶνα.

Scholars have disputed whether the words *θεῶν ἀγῶνα* meant the assembly or the place of assembly of the gods. The question seems to be set at rest by the occurrence in the seventh Assyrian Creation Tablet of the expression, "The gods in their assembly created," and of similar phrases elsewhere. It may be added that tripods played an important part in the Chinese ritual of sacrifice.

Again, Thetis tells Achilles (Il., I, 423) that Jupiter is gone to the blameless Aethiopians to a feast, and that all the gods followed in his train. This story stands quite by itself. There is nothing, as far as I know, in Greek history or mythology to explain it. But those members of the Society who were fortunate enough to hear our President's translation and elucidation of the extremely ancient

Egyptian romance which has lately been discovered, will recollect that in that story a goddess tell the princess to wait for a certain number of months, because the gods are going to the South, and will not return till that period is expired. There can hardly be a doubt, I think, that the statement in Homer is the vestige of a tradition which had its origin in Egypt.

One matter I will ask leave to mention, though it does little to advance the argument. When Horace is regretfully recalling the masculine vigour of the olden time, he instances the stalwart Sabine lads who would come home from their day's work and then cut and carry firewood to the contentment of a strict mother. In ancient China if one person asked another how old a youth was, it was not good form to tell his age; the proper answer was, he is able to carry firewood. Again, when a person wished to decline an invitation he did not profess his profound regret that he had a previous engagement, Confucian etiquette required him to say that he could not come because he was tired with cutting firewood.

From the few undesigned coincidences which have been given, and the very many which might be adduced, it follows, I think, that archaeologists should be very cautious in assigning independent origins to primitive civilizations; and further, that in all investigations due account must be taken of the Turanian races. Many arguments from other sources converge upon the conclusion which Mr. Ball is establishing by his acute and most fruitful comparison of Chinese with Accadian characters and words.



NOTES.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

1. The Horus Standard and the Seat of Horus. 2.  Plague or Fog? 3.   not the king of Upper Egypt, and not to be read *bit* or *bat*.

1. The frame, surmounted by a Hawk, upon which the Horus title of the Egyptian kings was inscribed, has commonly been called the royal 'standard' or 'banner.' No Egyptologist of note, as far as I am aware, has ever been led by "a mistaken idea of the lines beneath [the frame] representing a fringe" to assert strong views as to the nature of this 'banner.' The notion of a fringe could only be derived from a very partial study of examples, and was sure to be dissipated as soon as ever a bold and ingenious enquirer like Mr. Petrie chose to examine into the matter.* Every person, learned or unlearned, can see with his own eyes that the supposed fringe is merely a pattern of panelling.† Every one can also see (by looking at the proper pictures) what I pointed out in my essay on the *Ka*, that there is a direct connection between the Horus 'standard' and the Royal *Ka*.

The information thus obtained by simple inspection is however insufficient to enlighten one as to what the Egyptians meant by this 'standard.' And for further guidance we must, I fear, abandon Mr. Petrie.

The Egyptian name, he tells us, "is simply *srekh*, from *rekh* 'to know,' with the causative *s* prefixed, reading 'that which makes known.'"

Serekh is indeed one of the names, but not the only one; and before guessing at the etymology of a word, it is desirable to have at least some indications of its meaning through its use in the language to which it belongs.

* *A Season in Egypt*, 1877, p. 21.

† See Fig. 1, Horus standard of Chufu.

Now Egyptian texts are full of allusions to the  "the divine Hawk upon the *sereh*;"   , "the *sereh* of Horus the son of Isis."* In

one passage the Ptolemaic form  *sereš* has for determinative the object itself, with the Hawk on top of it.† The two following variants,  and  are found at Dendera.‡

But in the numberless texts to which I refer *synonymous* words are frequently used instead of *sereh*, such as  *atit*,

 *utesit*,  *behutit*,  *pu* (Coptic ΠΟΙ, a stool),  *men*,  *nesit*,  *hemru*,  *henit*,  *qennu*, and probably others. The *sereh* therefore may

mean *couch, throne, chair, bench, perch, stool* or *footstool*, but certainly not *door*. You may sit, stand or rest upon it, but not pass through it.  *sereh*§ is the word used in the inscription of

Amenemheb for the royal seat upon which Amenophis II rested when he succeeded his father. It is most probably connected with the verb  *sereh*, to 'lounge.'||

Egyptologists will not question the identity of meaning in such phrases as,—“the Hawk established—

           “on the *sereh* at the head of the divine Kas who live for ever.”

           ** “on the *stool* of the divine Ka at the head of the divine Kas who live for ever.”

           †† “on the *stool* of his divine Ka, at the head of the Kas who are for ever.”

* *Denkm.*, IV, 36 d; *Denderah*, II, 74; *Tempelinschr.*, I, 17, 5.

† *Denkm.*, IV, 41, c.

‡ *Denderah*, III, 29.

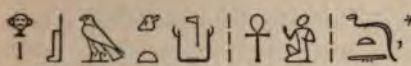
§ *Zeitschr. f. Aegypt. Spr.*, 1872, p. 8.

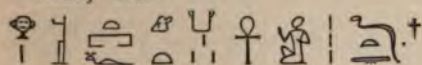
|| *Relax* according to Mr. Goodwin, *être inactif* according to M. Maspero, in the first Berlin papyrus.

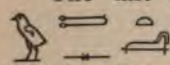
¶ Duemichen, *Resultate*, 18.

** *Denderah*, I, 48, c.

†† *Ib.*, I, 54, a.

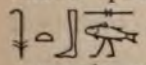
*, "on the *seat* of Horus, at the head," etc.

†

The last quoted of these synonyms is sometimes written  *utesit*, and conveys the notion of a raised and portable chair.

The patterns of panelling on this symbol of the seat of Horus vary considerably according to the taste of the artist. It is perfectly true that a door sometimes (with or without its bolts) appears on the pattern; sometimes two doors are visible. But the door is not necessarily the door of a tomb. It might with equal propriety be supposed to represent the door of a suburban villa.

Egyptologists will not require to be told that no Egyptian text known speaks of the *ka* gliding in or out of temples or tombs.

 is the well known term for the solemn royal entry into a temple, especially under the guidance of a god. This solemn entry is represented at Karnak in a picture of Thothmes II entering the temple of his father Amon, at Medinet Hâbu of Thothmes III, and of the same king at Semneh at the temple of the god Tetun. Seti I is represented in the same way at Karnak at the temple of his father Amon, but his father Rameses I in his tomb at Bâb-el-molūk is introduced into the temple of the Tuat, and so he might be represented in any other funereal memorial.‡

The royal standard or 'stool of the Ka' (that is *carried by* the Ka), is not the only symbol of the seat of Horus, so incessantly mentioned by the texts.

The nearest approach to the standard form is in a picture at Abydos, of a shrine containing the divine Hawk wearing the double crown, and standing upon a stool ornamented with panelling.§

But I would rather call attention to symbols of which the meaning is not so evident.

* *Denderah*, I, 37, d, e.

† *Tempelinschr.*, I, 23, 6.

‡ *Denkm.*, III, 14; 37 a; 124 d; 123 a. Further instances might be quoted *ad libitum*.

§ Mariette, *Abydos*, I, p. 78.

In the papyrus of Ani, Pl. 19, Horus in the form of an infant with his hand at his mouth, is seen seated at the prow of the Solar bark as it sails over the sky.* The seat upon which he rests is covered with a mat or carpet which hangs downwards from the prow of the boat. This scene is repeated on many monuments.† Sometimes the figure of Horus is wanting on the seat.‡ This is the case in a picture in the tomb of Rameses IX, where there are two solar barks (the morning and evening boats). But between the two there rises up a rectangular structure of the royal standard, and resting at the top of this the winged Solar disk, with the form within it of the Infant with the hand at his mouth.§

On a tablet at Turin the prow of the Lunar bark has the Solar disk resting upon it, and the seat is decorated in the same way as in the papyrus of Ani and the royal tombs.||

Champollion in his *Panthéon*, gives another picture in which the prow of the Solar bark, which sails over the arms of Nut, is similarly decorated, but without the presence of Horus.¶

Sometimes, instead of Horus or the divine Hawk, a small bird, apparently the Dove ( *ment*), which is the Solar transformation spoken of in the 86th chapter of the Book of the Dead) sits at the prow.**

Sometimes the structure upon which the Infant Horus rests has the appearance of a screen, but at other times it has a far more solid appearance as part of the boat.††

In the 13th tomb of Abd-el-Qurna, dating from the early part of the XVIIIth dynasty, the Infant Horus stands upon a low stool.‡‡

The temple of Semneh (at the date of Thothmes III) presents another interesting symbol, frequently found and of the same import.

The prow of the ship rises in the form of the stalk of the papyrus plant crowned by its flower. The Hawk of Horus bearing the Solar

* See Fig. 2.

† See Fig. 3, from the tomb of Rameses IX; and 4, from *Abydos* (1, page 71).

‡ Fig. 5, from the Papyrus of Nebseni; and 6, from tomb of Rameses IX.

§ Lefébure, *Hypogées*, III, fasc. 1, Ramsès, 9, Pl. 18, 21. See also Pl. 19, 22.

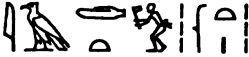
|| Champollion, *Panthéon*, Pl. 30, G., and Fig. 13.

¶ *Ib.*, Pl. 20 B.

** Fig. 7, from tomb of Rameses IX.

†† Figs. 8, 9, and 10, and Lefébure, *Hypogées* III 2, Pl. 27.

‡‡ *Denkm.*, III, 63 and 64. See Fig. 11.

to be mixed with the  "yearly *aat*." And as this entry corresponds to the 19 Tybi, that is the first month after the subsiding of the waters of the inundation, one is naturally led to identify the *aat* with the Plague which breaks out in Egypt precisely at that epoch.

M. Chabas has shown us the right road, and if we may travel a little further upon it fresh light may dawn upon the subject.

 *aatit*, with another determinative, is well known as the Egyptian name of the Dew. But it is the same word as that which M. Chabas understands as signifying the Plague. The only difference is that one is taken in a good and the other in a bad sense. Both represent moisture in *drops*, not as rain but as Mist and Dew. Now it is precisely at the subsiding of the waters of the inundation that both Dew and Mist make their appearance. The following passages are from Murray's *Handbook to Egypt*, and they might easily be corroborated by the evidence of specialists

"The humidity of the atmosphere is principally controlled by the rise and fall of the Nile. Fogs prevail during the first two months of the receding of the waters."

"Such a surface of water materially alters the temperature, and light dews now occur about sunset all through the lower country. As the river falls, leaving the land wet and exposed to the action of the sun, exhalations arise, which render the Delta somewhat unhealthy."

These phenomena are by no means confined to the Delta. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, who registered his observations, has noted them all the way to Thebes. And Chafey-Bey in his Report to the Egyptian Institute thus speaks of Intermittent Fever:—

"This malady is very frequent in Egypt at the end of the inundation of the Nile; at which time there are in fact vast marshes of stagnant water containing great quantities of organic matter in decomposition, which generate deleterious gases in abundance, and noxious effluvia productive of intermittent fever in all its types and forms." *

The modern quack doctors employ against these fevers not only empirical remedies, but superstitious practises worthy of the magical papyrus of Leyden referred to by M. Chabas.

* *Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien*, tom. i, p. 521.

It will be noted that in the passage quoted from the tablet of Abu-simbel the rage of Sechet was not identified with the *âat*, but was said to follow *after* them (*em-het âat*), "à la suite des *âat-u*." The *âat* are therefore not themselves a disease, but the causes or antecedents of disease.

The whole evidence appears to me to point to Fog or Mist, which is and must always have been an *annual* phenomenon in Egypt, whereas the Plague, as far as it is possible to discover, has always been imported into Egypt from other countries, and that at very irregular intervals.

3. The writer of the first Sallier Papyrus, who uses the term *Âat* when speaking of the foreign rulers, speaks of their king and of the national hero in terms which deserve to be meditated. The former is called and Seqenen-Râ is . Apepi is recognised as *Suten*, with the sacred and royal and the whole of Egypt paid tribute to him, whilst the rule of Seqenen-Râ was confined to upper Egypt which is called .

This appears to me to furnish a direct refutation of the unproved and erroneous theory so persistently maintained by Egyptologists, that is the king of Upper, and the king of Lower Egypt. But it does not stand alone. In what sense can "king of Upper Egypt" be applied to the kings who are called on the Tablet of Piānchi? Their rule was at Memphis, Sais and Bubastis. Here if anywhere the title ought to have been used if the dominant theory were right.

And on the other hand why is Piānchi, the Southern invader, in line 33 of his inscription, said to be at Hermopolis?

And now, to be in still deeper error, the reading of is asserted to be *bit* or *bat*! Mr. Karl Sethe tells Professor Piehl that I have only one argument for my reading *nt*, and that Brugsch has given good grounds for doubting it.

The real grounds which Brugsch had for doubting my evidence were his arguments in favour of another value which I felt quite sure he would abandon before long (as he has done), and which no one now would dream of defending. I had produced the variant  and this could only be got over by denying its existence as a variant. Brugsch therefore in his *Lexicon* suggests that I got it from an imperfect copy or wrongly divided the groups. He proposes

       as the evidently right reading of the passage. And Mr. Karl Sethe thinks this conclusive! Where has he or Dr. Brugsch or anybody else ever seen such a passage as he proposes; I mean where  and  are followed by ? If such a passage can be found let it be produced. Now I copied the text myself, and I boldly assert that the passage was as I gave it in the *Zeitschrift* of 1877, and that the doubts about its accuracy are utterly groundless.*

I have always contended that in  , which is also written  and , the sign  is a mere determinative of the word *nât*, which is the true sound both of  and of .

In support of this I have referred to two texts of different dates, both leading to the same conclusion.

On one of the earliest and most beautiful monuments of the XVIIIth dynasty (*Denkm.*, III, 9 f.), the sovereign title is written  . And on a monument of the Middle Empire (Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, pl. 40) the lower office of the same name is written, like the sovereign one,  .

What then becomes of Mr. Sethe's argument from   (Denkm., III, 5)?

The last sign in every case is the determinative.

But I have also shown in more than one place† that the name of the goddess Neith is written   as well as  or .

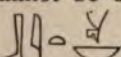
* When the Supplement to Brugsch's *Lexicon* appeared I had mislaid the notes which I had taken in Egypt. I have since recovered them, and can declare that the passage is not one of those supposed by Brugsch.

† *Proceedings*, 1886, p. 253, and 1890, p. 349,

Now it stands to reason that if these *three* forms express the same sound as , they will not agree in expressing the sounds *bât* or *bit*. Each of these forms may be polyphonous, but the grounds of polyphony are different for each. Two polyphonus signs in Egyptian or Cuneiform writing are homophonous only in one value.

Those who have as yet failed to master this elementary rule are not yet qualified for correcting their elders.

Mr. Sethe's translation of the passage from the text of Teta would be not only possible but plausible if there were no reasons against it. But the reasons against it are very strong, and it is only one out of several possible translations, M. Maspero's being one of them.

These texts, as M. Maspero's notes and corrections show, are extremely faulty, and cannot be depended on when they are unsupported. The word  occurs nowhere else, and may be a mistake. If correct it may mean *a skull cap*, for anything we know to the contrary.

But if it meant 'King of the North' it would not in the same sentence be mentioned before the 'King of the South.'

Much of the plausibility of Mr. Sethe's translation is owing to his having stopped short in his quotation. If he had quoted a few words more it would be evident that the *Suten* has no more relation to *bât* than to the plural word *mentu*.



THE RHIND MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS.*

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

Fourteen years have elapsed since Eisenlohr completed his valuable Commentary,† and Egyptology has meanwhile made great progress. Not a few original and suggestive remarks are contained in the reviews and notes to which I referred the reader in my last paper. A thorough revision is now required, and having the original easily accessible, as well as some small mathematical documents and fragments from Kahun,‡ I intend by means of notes supplementary to the *Commentar* (which may be obtained separately from the *Atlas* at a reasonable price), to throw what light I may on the papyrus, and on the whole question of Ancient Egyptian Mathematics. The comparative method is of immense importance, and Rodet, a non-Egyptologist, whose power of sympathetic insight was gained from the study of various primitive systems, has provided some striking examples of its application; the mathematician too, accustomed to consider the powers of numbers and figures, simple as well as abstruse, can teach us much; but a non-mathematician

* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 332; and compare p. 596.

† To obviate misconception, I must be allowed to state distinctly that time treats Egyptological commentaries *hardly*, and that fourteen years is enough to render obsolete most of what is written, above all in connection with a difficult papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, one moreover which introduced an entirely new subject. In the present case the transcriptions of the peculiar hieratic signs and groups are generally ingenious and correct (excepting certain frequently recurring mistakes,  for ,  for , etc.), and much of the commentary is still valuable. It might be supposed that the translations would lie at the root of the work, and its soundness as a guide to non-Egyptologists would depend wholly on them: but happily it is not so; the text consists of numerals to such an extent that translation is only of secondary importance. Even now there are passages which are completely obscure, but in most cases I hope to give the general sense.

‡ The Kahun papyri are the unique collection discovered by Mr. Petrie near the pyramid of Illahun, and put at my disposal for publication by the discoverer, with the kind consent of the part owners, Messrs. Jesse Haworth and Martyn Kennard. The unvarying generosity of these two patrons of our science in England is well known.

like myself can undertake this preliminary work of displaying the science as it existed in the Middle Kingdom, with a good hope of partial success, for Eisenlohr, Cantor, and Rodet have overcome the first difficulties, and the path beyond is not obstructed by higher mathematics.

I will now commence with the Title of the work and its History.

Title (*Math. Handb.*, Pl. I, ll. 1, 2; *Commentar*, p. 27).



Ṭp (?) *hsb n hat m h̄t: rh ntt nbt, snkt* (?) [*nbt*,
..... nbt], *štat nbt*.

"Rule of calculating the results (?) of things, the knowledge of everything that is, of [all] *obscurities*. [of all *mysteries*] of all difficulties."

The translation of the first phrase and the restoration are both conjectural.  seems to mean,

like our "head" (of cattle), "an individual," "a unit": thence, "an instance," "model quoted as an example": thence, "a rule" or "collection of rules," as in 

ⲟ in the Bulaq papyrus of accounts is the heading for the balance-sheets, and in the *Math. Handb.*, Pl. XX, No. 67, ⲟ ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, "I have calculated"

(what was owing).  should therefore mean "rule of calculating;"  "rule of the foot," *i.e.*, of times of entrance, etc., and behaviour;  "rule of excellence" ? or "excellent example";  "correct example," or "rule of correctness." *

* For another view of the difficult word , see Mr. Renouf's article, *Proceedings, S.B.A.*, X, p. 574, and for the reading of the sign *l.c.* p. 571 ff.; XIII, pp. 109 and 119. According to Mr. Renouf the values may be *tp*, *h₁tp*, *āp*; according to most Egyptologists *tp* is the principal value. If I venture to suggest that there may be only one meaning and perhaps only one pronunciation for  in all the above four cases (Mr. Renouf would read the sign as *h₁tp* in three and as *āp* in   ), after perusing articles which appear to be so nearly con-

 and  are often employed in a metaphorical sense, but here the literal meaning of  seems appropriate. It is curious that the best confirmation of its literal meaning must be sought in a *metaphor* where the word occurs parallel to   , which must mean a tape or rope used in measuring. Prisse Pap., VIII, 5, *au ārrit r tp ḥsb šḥr-f nb ḥft ḥai*.

"The hall of audience is regulated (as) by arithmetical rule, and all its arrangements are fixed (as it were) by the measuring-tape."

Also      is an epithet of a certain Antef, * who amongst other duties supervised the tribute of foreign nations and some of the inland revenue, and of Pahari at El Kab, † whose office was to reckon the corn revenue in the south of Egypt. An "excellent mathematician" would indeed be required for carrying out such tasks according to the Egyptian methods.

To proceed with the text, a cross × is written in black after *hat*, to contrast with the rubric, and indicates that some words have been omitted, viz.,   , which are written at the side (l. 2).

In a papyrus of the New Kingdom ‡ × with a dash above, , is used for the same purpose: the words to be inserted, preceded also by , are written in a vacant space above. This very rare sign occurs also in hieroglyphics in the form +, marking an omission upon one of the earliest known monuments (tomb of Amten, L.D., II, Pl. 6. Maspero, *Etudes Eg.*, II, 214).

Hat m ḥt is very difficult; *ha r* means "enter into," "embark on"; *ha* by itself is opposed to *pr*, and also means "enter": but

clusive, it is because I distrust the evidence of *basse-époque* orthography (with which moreover I am not familiar) as a means of deciding delicate questions of this nature, without the support of early variants. The latter, unfortunately, are not yet forthcoming. Further study may convince me of the correctness of the theory which Mr. Renouf has so ably elaborated and so nearly proved.

* Stela C 26 of the Louvre.

† L.D., III, 13, a.

‡ Brit. Mus. 5495, second document, p. 2, top line. For this papyrus, which contains a medical work mentioning Khufu and a hymn, see *A.Z.*, 1871, p. 61; Golenischeff, *Metternichstela*, p. 9; and *Proceedings*, XIII, p. 70, note †.

ha m usually means "come out of," "be removed from." If the inserted *m ht* is only an adverbial addition to *hat*, the expression may mean, "entering (into knowledge) in the case of things" or "business," but if *hat m ht* is a single compounded phrase, it may mean, "to come out of matters," "result (?) from matters." Probably it is an idiom, and cannot be explained without other examples of the usage.

For a similar use of   in the title of a book, see Pap. Eb., XCIX, 1; *snkt*, if that is the reading,* may belong to  .

History (Eisenlohr, Pl. I, ll. 1, 3, 4. *Commentar*, p. 28).

āu āst krt srrntu (?) šftu pn m rnpt māba† hmt ābt āftu n š[mu hru ... (?) hr sutn] bāt† Āa-usr-rā † ānh, m snt r ānu (?) n āsut § ārē m hau [sutn bāt Ma]āt[-n-rā]; ān ān Aāhmsu srr (?) snn pn.

"It may be added that this papyrus was written in the 33rd year, 4th summer month, day ... (?) under the king Āa-user-rā (Āpepā) giving life, as a copy of ancient writings made in the time of the king Maāt-n-rā (?) (Amenemhāt III (?)): it was the scribe Aahmesu that wrote this copy."

Professor Eisenlohr published in the *Proceedings* (Vol. III, 1881, p. 97) an inscription upon a scribe's palette at Berlin, showing that the prenomen of Āa-user-Rā was Āpepā, and consequently that he was a Hyksos, probably the first Apophis of Josephus. The Rhind Papyrus, which shows no trace of  in its usual position in front of , would lead one to suspect that the Hyksos king was entitled only king of Lower Egypt. Professor Erman however kindly informs me that on the Berlin palette he is , and again   only. A few columnar graffiti|| of the XIth dynasty contain the group

* See my plate of errata.  and  are badly rendered in the fac-simile.

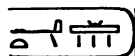
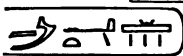
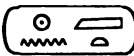
† The reading   of , Coptic , has been proved by the Pyramid Texts: correct thereby Eisenlohr's table, *Commentar*, p. 17.

‡ The true reading of  seems at length to have been found by K. Sethe, *A.Z.*, XXVIII, 125.

§ *Asut*  .

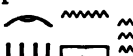
|| L.D., II, 149 d.

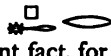
 and some such unusual arrangement must have been adopted here. This leaves no space in the lacuna for *hn n*, but *rrp* etc *hr sun bat* is not without parallel.*

The second cartouche in the Papyrus is imperfect, but ends with the signs  which enable one to restore the word  without any doubt. Several kings before Apēpā are known whose cartouches terminate with the word *Maāt*, namely, two of the Antefs (XIth dynasty, Sekhem-upu-maāt Rā, and Sekhem-her-her-maāt Rā), Amenemhāt III (XIIth dynasty  Maāt-n Rā).

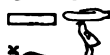
In this case also the remains require careful examination. The facsimile is perfectly correct. The top of a sign above the break points to , but there is no possibility of reading  at the side. Nor is possible, for the  is not in the middle of the column. The only reading I can suggest is  not sufficient space for the long *tef*, and the probability is there-fore that the great king Amenemhāt III was the monarch

Thus, the probable restoration is

The form  (with uncommon on stelæ: possibly this the specification of a particular day

The reading of  is doubtful: recently pointed out to me that , *rr*, is equivalent to , and mention this important fact, for which be found by any Egyptologist. Thus *s-phr*, meaning "roll up (the papyrus and so "complete the writing" or

Taking all things into consideration seems to state that the Rhind Papyrus on a certain day, perhaps a for-Calendar. In the first phrase we

 which seems to mean

 This granted, there is pre-nomen of either An-fore that the great king specified.

 is not very was followed by in the month.

Herr Max Müller hitherto misread with his leave I ample proof can  may be read after writing it" simply "write."

tion, the scribe itself was finished tunate one in the have the word simply a sheet of

* L.D., II, 151 k.

papyrus, whether written upon or not; in the last we have , probably meaning a copy rather than an original work.

Professor Piehl's note on the word * cannot affect the translation of instances in which it is followed by the preposition . The meaning of *m snt r* is thoroughly established by Brugsch in his *Wörterbuch*.

The title and statement appended thereto may now be freely rendered: "Guide for calculation, a means of ascertaining everything, of elucidating all obscurities, all mysteries, all difficulties.

"This roll was finished on the . . . day of the fourth summer month, in the 33rd year of the King of Lower Egypt, Apepi (I?), now reigning, as a copy of writings of antiquity made in the time of King Amenemhät III. The scribe Aahmesu wrote this copy."

M. Révillout has expressed the opinion † that this statement was intended to pass off a school-boy's note-book on some ignorant farmer as a work of authority. The title is indeed high-sounding, and the blunders of the scribe make one doubt whether he would care to have put his name to the roll, yet blundered copies of Oriental texts are often written with some distinction and signed. The dates mentioned are at least approximately correct, being vouched for by a good deal of new evidence. First, as to its being written in the reign of Apepi, Erman's palæographical work ‡ affords good reason to believe that the Rhind Papyrus is a genuine and characteristic example of hieratic, written shortly before the XVIIIth dynasty; secondly, Kahun has furnished several mathematical documents of the same type as those that are embodied in this book, and dating from the reign of Amenemhät III, or one of his earliest successors.

Assuming the truth of the statements, we may argue that as the copyist was none too clever, he probably reproduced the very words of his original, and that, barring mistakes, we have in the Rhind Papyrus the exact expressions of the XIIth dynasty scribes, though it is possible that changed conditions in the country may have induced the scribe to add to, alter, or omit some of the examples and rules, or to modernise the language. In all probability the Hyksos were driven out about 1600-1575 B.C. The Rhind Papyrus was written perhaps as much as two centuries earlier.

* *Proceedings*, XIII, p. 358, a valued criticism of my note on the *Prisse Papyrus*.

† *Rev. Eg.*, II, 304.

‡ *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, I, p. 5; II, p. 32 ff.

HIGH DOWN, HITCHIN, HERTS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

October 5th, 1891.

A friend of mine having sent the paper on the Kanawat Altar to Mr. R. Hamilton Lang, late H.M. Consul for the Island of Cyprus, (and who discovered in 1870 at Idalium the Statues, etc., etc., of the Cypriote Collection now in the British Museum), has sent me the following extract of a letter in reply relative to the Altar, with permission for its publication in the *Proceedings* if it should meet with your approval.

Yours faithfully,

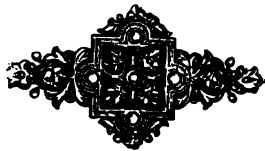
JOSEPH POLLARD.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM R. HAMILTON LANG, ESQ.

"I have read the interesting paper by Mr. Pollard on the Altar secured by Mr. Drake, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The question raised seems to be that of its date, and whether it can be given as ancient a date as the time of Jezebel, daughter of Eth-baal, King of Tyre, who was married to Ahab, King of Israel. This Eth-baal reigned about 50 years after Hiram. I have no books here to fix that date, but from memory it is about 950 B.C. That is somewhere near the date of the celebrated Moabite stone, which, I think may be of the same hard basalt stone of which the Altar seems to be. A very ancient monument which I found in Cyprus of the same hard basalt, and which I suppose goes back to nearly the same period, also confirms the possibility (judging only by the material) that the Altar may go back to as early a date as the 9th century B.C. But I must confess that looking to the workmanship of the piece, as far as I can judge by the flutes, I would not be inclined to carry back the Altar to such an ancient date. Nor is it necessary, for the worship of Baal prevailed to a much later date, and long after the destruction of Tyre. Phœnician settlements scattered themselves everywhere, and wherever there was one, there would be an Altar to Baal. It would need strong corroborative evidence from the site in which the Altar was found to ascribe to it so great an antiquity, but none can deny the great interest of the monument, as illustrative of the very ancient worship of Baal. In a word, I would regard Mr. Pollard's hypothesis as to date interesting, and possible, but lacking corroboration, and is in no way necessarily correct, for the monument might just as well, and I am inclined to think *more* appropriately, belong to a much later period."

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st December, 1891, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF: "The Book of the Dead."



NOTICES.

N.B.—SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

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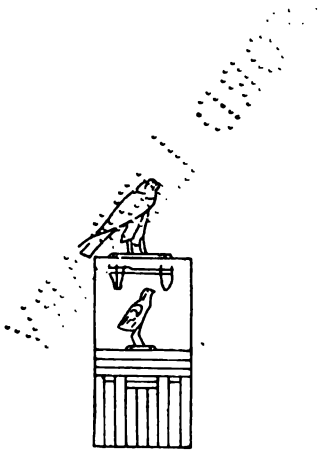


Fig. 1.

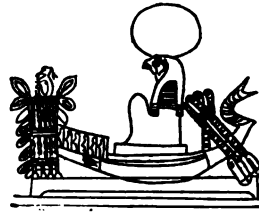


Fig. 2.

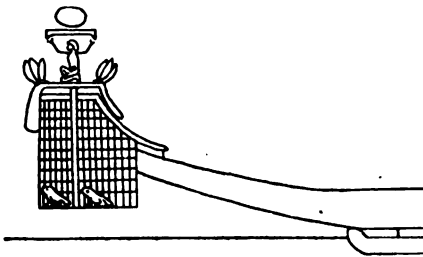


Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.

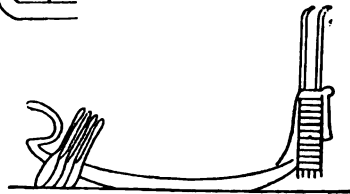


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

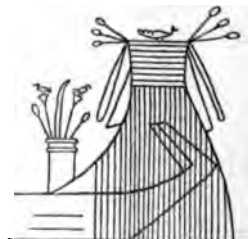


Fig. 7.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 8.

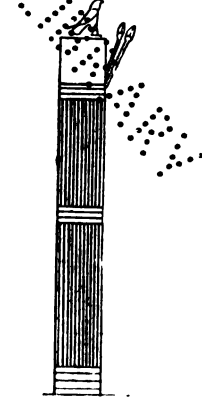


Fig. 9.

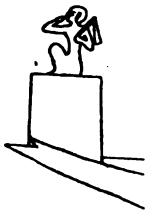


Fig. 10.

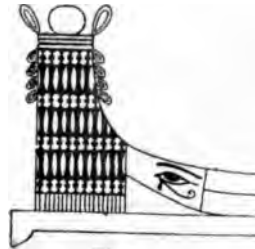


Fig. 13.



Fig. 15.

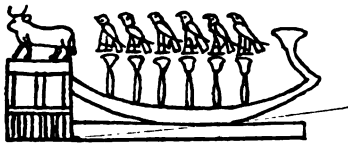


Fig. 14.

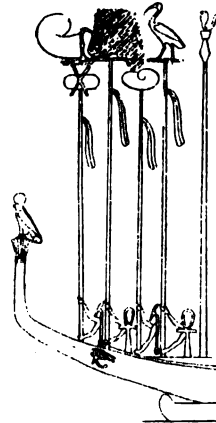


Fig. 12.

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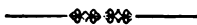
PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Second Meeting, 1st December, 1891.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, Dr. M. Schwab :—*Itinéraire Juif d'Espagne en Chine au ix^e. siècle.* Paris, 8vo. 1891.

Extrait de La Revue de Geographie.

From Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A. :—*Notes on Ancient Egyptian Methods of Hewing, Dressing, Sculpturing and Polishing Stone.* By Francis Fox Tuckett, F.R.G.S.

Reprinted from the Clifton Antiquarian Club. *Proceedings*, Vol. II.

From the Dowager Countess of Crawford :—*The Creed of Japhet, that is of race popularly surnamed Indo-Germanic or Aryan, as held before the period of its dispersion, ascertained by the aid of comparative mythology and language.* By Alexander William, Earl of Crawford and Balcares (Lord Lindsay).

One hundred and fifty copies, printed for private circulation. 1891. Copy No. 63.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last meeting on the 3rd November.

Percy Edward Newberry, 5, Callow Street, Chelsea.
James Bain, 1, Haymarket, S.W.
Prof. John D. Davis, Ph.D., Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
R. G. Haliburton, Q.C., D.C.L., 28, Pall Mall.
J. J. Tylor, Mayfield, Sussex.
H. Welter, 52, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
George W. Fraser, 40, Evelyn Gardens, South Kensington.
The Right Rev. H. H. Montgomery, D.D., Lord Bishop of Tasmania, Bishops court, Hobart, Tasmania.
Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Semitic Languages, University of Chicago.
Charles William Previte Orton, Cambridge Villa, Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Royal Library, Stockholm.
The Library of the South Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., U.S.A.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next meeting on the 12th January, 1892 :—

Rev. Frederick Finnis Grensted, M.A., Second Master, Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, Liverpool.
William Henry Bennett, Professor of Old Testament Literature, etc., Hackney, and New College, London.
Rev. W. M. Tupper, Hastings, Mich., U.S.A.
Alfred Edmund Hudd, F.S.A., Clinton House, Pembroke Road, Clifton.
Thomas Hunter Boyd, 427, Wandsworth Road, S.W.
Rev. H. Reichardt, Professor, Rolduc College, Holland.

Mr. RENOUF read some remarks preliminary to a translation of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The substance of these remarks is to the following effect.

At a time when "book-making" flourishes as it does, it would not be surprising to hear of the appearance, either in England or America, of a new translation of the Book of the Dead. It is not even necessary that the enterprising author of such a translation should know the Egyptian language. By dint of skilful plagiarisms from existing translations, English and foreign, a man may without knowing Greek compile a new version of the Homeric poems. Why may not the same process be applied to the Book of the Dead? By a judicious blending of the versions of de Rougé, Pierret, Devéria, Lefébure, Guyesse and others who might be mentioned, a very plausible translation of the Book of the Dead might be composed. The impudent jackdaw of the fable would strut with borrowed plumes; or, to take the illustration from another fable, the ass would go forth under the cover of the lion's skin, and impose upon all who failed to discern the long ears occasionally protruding.

To all real scholars a translation worthy of the name is a task which cannot possibly be executed until certain difficulties have been overcome, the solution of which requires very mature thought and research extending, to say the least, over very many years. It speaks well for the training of the numerous young students of Egyptology in France and Germany that no attempts in this direction have hitherto been made.

The difficulties which have to be overcome in a translation of the Book of the Dead arise partly from the book itself and partly from the imperfection of our knowledge. And some of these difficulties may be summarily mentioned.

The Book of the Dead is not a book in the usual sense of the word; it is not a literary whole, with a beginning, middle and end; it is a mere unmethodical collection of religious compositions (chapters), as independent of each other as the Hebrew Psalms. No two copies of the better periods contain the same chapters or follow the same order. The text of each chapter is in the highest degree uncertain, and was already so at a very early date. The various readings arise partly from the differences of meaning attached by the copyists to certain groups or words, but in great part from

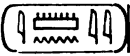
the gross carelessness or ignorance of the copyists. The restoration of the text is rendered the more difficult by the existence of several successive stages of the book, and it is only with reference to one of these stages (extending from the XVIIIth to the XXth dynasty) that a critical apparatus has been provided in the splendid edition of M. Naville.

But supposing the text to be settled, difficulties of another kind beset the translator. The grammar is extremely simple, and the vocabulary is tolerably well made out. But what sense can be extracted from the text? A sentence may be quite literally rendered without its conveying the meaning of the original. Some translators may indeed think it an unnecessary or even a hopeless task to look for any sense in a religious text. Few persons can read a chapter in Dr. Birch's translation without feeling convinced either that such outrageous nonsense could never have been meant, or that in such a case translation involved a very unnecessary waste of time.

Knowledge of the language is a necessary qualification of a translator, but it is not by any means the only one. Mere Greek and Latin will not enable one to translate Aristotle or the Fathers of the Church or the medical writers, or the lawyers, or the mathematicians. And a little knowledge is a dangerous thing as regards philosophy, theology, medicine, law, or mathematics. No one is capable of translating a single chapter of the Book of the Dead, who has wrong ideas about the religion and mythology of Egypt, and is unable to understand the numerous technical or mystical expressions which everywhere occur. It is only by slow degrees that correct notions on these subjects will finally come to prevail. Till then the most accomplished Egyptologists will differ in their interpretations of these ancient texts.

The foregoing remarks are not intended to serve as an Introduction to the Book of the Dead. Such an introduction can only be written after the completion of the translations which will shortly appear in these pages.



    is mentioned ("priest at the pyramid called Kherp of Ameni").

This apparent identity of the names Ameni and Amenu is very interesting. It reminds one of a curious phenomenon in Greek and Coptic transcriptions and equivalents of hieroglyphic names, which was pointed out to me a short time ago by the demotic scholar J. J. Hess, namely, that final  corresponds with δ .

   = Σέθω[ε],    = εεεω,    = Βούτω,
   = εεεω; and perhaps    = 'Αχθόηε (Egypt. Expl. F., *Report of General Meeting*, 1888-9, p. 16.)

  from  is exactly the same formation as   from   , so probably the Greeks would have rendered it 'Αμένω[ε], and now we seem to find it already in the XIIth dynasty varying with  .

The king Amenemhat II being sometimes called Amenu and probably also Ameni, he is likely to be identical with Usertesen I's heir-apparent Ameni. The evidence all hangs together. The addition of  , rare in such cases, was no doubt due to the heir-apparent Ameni having in the interval been raised to the throne.

Professor Golénischeff (*A.Z.*, 1876, p. 110) found the name of a king Ameni     in a late papyrus at St. Petersburg, "to whom is dedicated a sort of panegyric on the occasion of the defeat of the Āamu." Possibly this Ameni also is none other than Amenemhat II, at least we have no evidence for placing him elsewhere.

I have just commenced studying the very ancient hieratic texts of the Todtenbuch that were written on the now destroyed wooden coffin of Queen Mentuhotep (XIth dynasty). With the exception of some names rudely scratched on rocks at Aswân and elsewhere, and a fragment of a letter published in Mariette's *Papyri* of the Bulaq Museum, they are the earliest hieratic writings known, and are of the highest importance both for palæography and for the history of the Book of the Dead. Fortunately Sir Gardner Wilkinson made a copy more than half a century ago, and his copy, which he presented to the British Museum, is generally legible without difficulty where the writing was in a good state on the original.

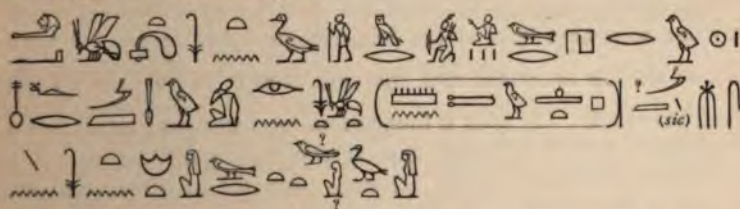
I now print the full titles and genealogy of the queen as they were given repeatedly in the texts.



"The principal royal wife, who is united to the beauty of the white crown (of Upper Egypt) Mentuhotep justified, begotten of the governor of the city and *that*, the director of the six great houses, Senb-henā-f justified, born of the *rtt pāt* (?) Sebek-hotep justified."

The queen's medicine chest from her grave is at Berlin,* but no other record of her is known, nor can I throw any further light on the exalted personages here named. The titles of Senb-henā-f† were the highest held by a subject; Sebek-hotep is a rather unexpected name for a woman of the XIth dynasty, but is of the same formation as Menthu-hotep. Her title is also a very high one.

It might be argued that the names Senb-hnā-f and Sebek-hotep belonged to the XIIth or XIII dynasty, it is therefore of importance to be able to fix approximately the age of this *Todtenbuch* of Queen Mentuhotep by a fragment of another very similar one which Harris obtained at Thebes, and which is now in the British Museum, No. 6636 a. An important name and genealogy occur upon it three times with variations, but are, unfortunately, mutilated in each case: the fragments combined give:—



* Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, p. 229; the other references in Wiedemann, pp. 229 and 223 are unfortunately wrong, the names being destroyed on both the monuments B.M. 578 and L.D. II, 149 a.

† Sometimes spelled  and . These variants present no difficulties.

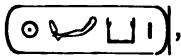
"The prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, eldest royal son, great officer of troops, Hru-nefer,* justified, begotten of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mentuhotep, deceased (?) born of the principal royal wife Shert (?) -sat."

I cannot decipher the name of this new queen. The king Mentuhotep being entitled not , but , as if no prenomen existed, should be the first of the name, a Mentuhotep I, but our knowledge of the XIth dynasty does not permit us to say more.  does not necessarily mean "heir to the throne": in this case the king his father had perhaps predeceased him, but the signs after the cartouche are uncertain.

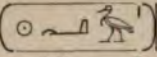
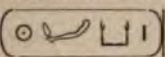
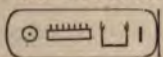
In Vol. XIII, p. 598, of the *Proceedings*, Dr. Eisenlohr mentions that Dr. Ebers "with Professor Erman continues what I (Eisenlohr) consider an erroneous reading of the royal name in the calendar of Papyrus Ebers, and reads the third sign of the cartouche  ka in order to find the name of Amenophis I, while , which occurs more than fifty times in the papyrus, has never that form."

The reading of the Ebers cartouche is one of the most important questions in Egyptian decipherment. When that is once settled, chronologists and astronomers will have gained another fixed point from which they can ascertain the nature of the calendrical equations: ultimately a flood of light on the calendar and chronology of the Egyptians must result. The age of the Papyrus Ebers is of no less importance to students of Egyptian palæography.

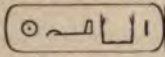
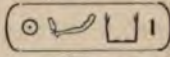
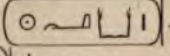
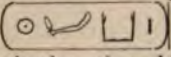
For these reasons, having decided views about the reading, I cannot allow a doubt to be expressed in any quarter without doing my best to remove it, or at least to reassure other people. I have not a shadow of doubt that the cartouche is of , Amen-hotep I. My faith is founded on too many documents to be in the least degree shaken by any expression of opinion.

There have been several solutions proposed at different times, two of them identifying the cartouche with the names of kings already known. It is remarkable that in 1873, when he first saw the great roll, Professor Ebers read , but afterwards

* The *nefer* is not quite certain.

withdrew that view in favour of Goodwin's . In 1885 J. Krall also read  with confidence, but his argument was vitiated by supposing that it was written long subsequently to the time of Amenhotep I, in one of the latest periods of hieratic writing, under the Ptolemies. F. Chabas, on the other hand, in 1877,* read , which might apply to more than one king of the old kingdom.

The following is the history of my belief in the reading which Professor Erman has revived amongst Egyptologists with so much good argument.

Mr. Petrie's Kahûn papyri arrived in England in 1889, and I at once set to work sorting and deciphering them. A medical papyrus led me to examine the Ebers; the date in the calendar was the very image, in general appearance, of those in the Kahûn papyri. The date was therefore written in the style of the Middle Kingdom. But who was the king? I read , and  immediately came to mind as having a singular resemblance to it. I could not then believe that the second sign in the hieratic was a genuine form of , nor accept a king . I conjectured that a scribe under ,† accustomed to the new style of writing, was imitating the old style for his important book, and had carelessly written a  instead of .

It was with much pleasure that a year afterwards I read Professor Erman's masterly section on palæography in the second volume of the *Papyrus Westcar*, and realized that the great change of style in writing must have taken place after the Ebers papyrus was written, between Amenhotep I and Thothmes III, so that the "Middle Kingdom" style was continued well into the XVIIIth dynasty. His discussion of the cartouche in question confirmed my faith in the date, and even showed a probability of the supposed  being a genuine . Still no cursive form of the latter

* In the *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie d'Inscriptions par divers savants*, I Sér., Tom. I, 1878, p. 111 ff.

†  follows the cartouche, proving that the king named in it was still alive and reigning.

sign was forthcoming: some examples quoted from uncial writing showed exact correspondence, except that there was always a certain upward stroke from the hand which was entirely absent from the sign in the cartouche. The question was reduced to this: can the upward  in the hand ever be entirely suppressed or indicated only by an angulated downward stroke? Erman showed that it *probably* had been so: now at length I can point to examples in the XIth dynasty furnished by the *Todtenbuch* of Queen Mentuhotep, where  occurs written , with the downward stroke extraordinarily long and square, but without any upward stroke from the hand.

This settles , the only difficulty that I could see.

I have not yet dealt with Professor Eisenlohr's objection to the . It is noteworthy that Chabas found no difficulty in it, though as was natural, he stumbled at the , and could not believe in . The form of  is not common; I could indeed quote several *complete* parallels, at any rate from Kahûn, but would these satisfy Professor Eisenlohr, who appears to desire an instance from the Ebers itself? Alas, this precious scrap of 13 lines—a few signs in each—which forms the calendar, is all we possess of cursive hieratic from the last stage of the early style, and even here are many uncial forms. What good are 50 uncial 's when we want the cursive? or who can see even the most remote resemblance between the cursive  in l. 12 and the uncial in l. 2 of the same calendar? The  occurs only twice more in the calendar, both times in its square uncial form: the other 48 instances to which Professor Eisenlohr refers must be taken from the noble uncial writing of the *recto*, and are surely even less to the point.

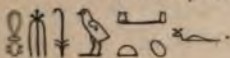


NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

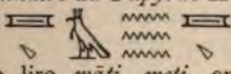
(Suite.)*

53. Un nom ptolémaïque de la Basse Égypte ; 54. Le canal du nome Héliopolitain ; 55. $\text{Kp}\omega\phi\iota$ et $\text{M}\omega\phi\iota$; 56. L'équivalent hiéroglyphique du copte $\text{p}\eta\text{t}$; 57. Quelques observations sur le sens du pronom indéfini D ; 58. Passage des textes, relatifs au mythe d'Horus d'Edfou ; 59. Remarque sur la nouvelle thèse de M. MASPERO, concernant l'écriture, dite ptolémaïque ou des basses époques ;

60. 

53. Le nom de la Basse Égypte, tel que nous le donne la liste Géographique du Sanctuaire d'Edfou, selon BRUGSCH et M. J. DE ROUGÉ, se lit . M. E. VON BERGMANN † propose ici la lecture , en s'appuyant sur la donnée, fournie par un estampage qu'il a pris du monument en question.

Pendant ma dernière visite à Edfou, en 1888, j'ai voulu vérifier le passage sus-mentionné, et notre éminent confrère, M. CH. WILBOUR se trouvant également au grand temple d'Edfou, j'ai sollicité son concours pour ce même but. Nous sommes, tous les deux, arrivés au même résultat, à savoir que le signe douteux est bien  et, par conséquent, le nom de la Basse Égypte doit se lire .

54. Dans mon *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris* N^o. 1, ‡ j'ai émis l'opinion que le nom  du canal du nome Héliopolitain devrait se lire *māti*, *meti*, en cela m'écartant de l'acception, soutenue par BRUGSCH, selon laquelle le dit groupe se lirait *āti*. Actuellement, je crois pouvoir garantir l'exactitude de ma thèse d'il y a dix ans.

* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, p. 575.

† *Hieroglyphische Inschriften*, page 16.

‡ PIEHL, *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris*, No. 1, page 39.

A Dendéra,* le nom de ce canal s'écrit, entre autre, , ce qui est par rapport à  ce que  est à . Mais le groupe  grâce aux variantes , , que nous lui connaissons, se lisant nécessairement *mehāt*,† il faut évidemment transcrire *meti* le groupe . D'ailleurs, nous ne possédons pas de preuves en faveur d'une équation  = à.

La valeur (*mā*), *me* du signe  résulte d'une transcription inexacte du signe hiératique qui communément se transcrit par . Voilà donc une nouvelle preuve en faveur de l'utilité de transcrire en hiératique pour résoudre des questions, relatives au syllabaire hiéroglyphique.

55. Les noms *Krōphi*, *Mōphi* que nous a conservés Hérodote § comme désignations des deux montagnes d'où sortaient les sources du Nil, et conséquemment aussi des deux sources, elles-mêmes, ont donné matière à diverses hypothèses, quant aux expressions égyptiennes qui auraient provoqué les dites transcriptions grecques. M. LAUTH, qui depuis longtemps est connu comme fort versé dans toutes les questions, relatives aux liaisons des Grecs avec l'Égypte, déjà il a 26 ans,|| a proposé de rapprocher *Krōphi* de   (litt.: "le tourbillon du Nil"). "Quant à *M-ōphi*,"

* MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, IV, pl. XXXV, ligne 5. Voir aussi BRUGSCH dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1881, page 80.

† LE PAGE RENOUF dans les *Transactions*, II, page 304, note 1.

‡ Voir PIEHL dans le *Recueil de Vieweg*, II, page 31. M. MASPERO, contre lequel nous nous sommes prononcé en cet endroit, concernant la lecture à *merhat* ten qu'il a soutenue pour l'expression   de la stèle C 170 du Louvre, plus tard (*Études égyptiennes* I, page 128, note 2) a adopté notre avis, bien entendu sans nous citer.

§ Hérodote, Livre II, chapitre 28 : εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὃξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θεβαΐδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἰούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μίσου τῶν ὀρίων τούτων ῥεῖν, κ.τ.λ.

|| *Les Zodiaques de Dendérah*, page 32.

dit-il, "la valeur *m* pour le bassin  est constatée, et le groupe Hapi   , est suivi constamment du bassin qui pouvait, dans la lecture, précéder le mot Hapi." Cette opinion, émise par M. LAUTH, a été modifiée par M. MASPERO, selon lequel

   *ker-fi*, "son tourbillon," équivaldrait à *Kpōphi*, et    *mu-fi*, "ses eaux," à *Māphi*.*

Pour résoudre un problème, comme celui qui nous occupe, il est nécessaire de satisfaire à plusieurs exigences. D'abord, il faut que les expressions, choisies comme point de départ du développement parcouru, soient non seulement égyptiennes de forme, mais encore que leur sens convienne tout-à-fait au cas qui se discute. Ce point établi, on ne doit pas oublier que des expressions égyptiennes, prononcées par un Grec, n'ont eu que bien peu de chance de rester intactes, témoin plusieurs mots égyptiens pour lesquels nous pouvons avec certitude relever les formes grécisées.† Maintenant, je ne crois pas que les explications, fournies par mes devanciers, satisfassent à ces exigences. C'est d'ailleurs à d'autres de décider, si l'explication que je propose ici, a plus de fondement.

Je pense que l'expression égyptienne qui a donné naissance à *Kpōphi* et *Māphi*, a dû avoir la forme suivante:   , "les deux tourbillons de l'eau (= le Nil)," ce que je crois pouvoir

* MASPERO dans les *Annales de la faculté de Bordeaux*, II, No. 1. Cet ouvrage n'est pas dans ma bibliothèque. Je le cite d'après WIEDEMANN, *Herodots zweites Buch*, page 116. Ce dernier livre mérite d'être sévèrement jugé, comme il abonde en assertions mal fondées ou purement fausses, et qu'il a été composé à l'adresse surtout de personnes sans compétence dans des questions, relatives à l'égyptologie.

† Par exemple, *χαμψαι* (*Hér.*, II, 69), *πίρωμς* (*ib.*, II, 143). Chaque égyptologue de profession sait, que l'un équivaldrait à   , l'autre à   . M. WIEDEMANN a une autre opinion. Au sujet de *χαμψαι*, il dit (*loc. cit.*, page 300): "Mit *χαμψαι* hat das Wort (  ) Nichts zu thun, ebensowenig wie die Etymologie von *mesu* = *emsuḥ* 'das aus dem Ei hervorgehende Thier' berechtigt erscheint." Quant au mot *πίρωμς*, le même auteur (*loc. cit.*, pages 509, 510) se prononce ainsi: "schon Jablonski hat gesehen, dass die Bedeutung 'der Mensch' zu Herodots Uebersetzung *καλὸς καγαθὸς* nicht passt; Am ehesten ist wohl an ein ägyptisches *pa remā* 'der Erhabene' zu denken." Voilà bien des erreurs dans bien peu de mots!

transcrire de la sorte : *groti māu*.^{*} Si l'on tient compte du fait, que le , *u*, égyptien très souvent a la valeur de la demi-voyelle *w* ou de la consonne *f*,[†] on n'est peut-être pas trop hardi, en supposant que l'expression égyptienne qui nous occupe, ait pu sonner *groti mofe* (ou quelque chose de pareil) à l'oreille d'Hérodote. Le *e* vague, que je présume à *mofe*, proviendrait de l'habitude qu'ont en général des étrangers, observant une langue qu'ils ne connaissent pas, de vouloir prononcer les mots à consonnes finales de cette langue par l'addition d'une voyelle vague. C'est là une expérience que j'ai faite, moi-même, en commençant l'étude de l'arabe vulgaire d'Égypte. De *groti mofe*, on en vient facilement à *Kpōphi Mōphi*, par l'assimilation du *t* avec le *f*. De pareilles assimilations n'offrent rien d'insolite à quiconque connaît la manière dont se changent les mots, surtout en passant d'une langue à une autre.

Ce qui d'ailleurs a déterminé l'oreille d'Hérodote d'entendre *groti mofi* ou à peu près, a été la circonstance, que notre auteur a mé-sinterprété cette expression dans le sens, qu'il a cru que les deux mots se balançaient quant à leur terrain de signification. Cela l'a porté à *sentir* comme tout-à-fait naturel, que la forme extérieure de l'un ressemblât de très près à celle de l'autre. En d'autres termes, l'égyptien, en disant *kroti-mowē*, entendait par là *les deux tourbillons* ET *le fleuve*. Pour Hérodote *Krofi-Mofi* désignait simplement "les deux tourbillons," celui dit *Krofi*, et celui dit *Mofi*.

Quel que soit le sort de mon explication, je crois, dès à présent, pouvoir affirmer—sans grand risque de me voir réfuter—qu'elle est plus conforme aux lois linguistiques que celles de mes devanciers.

56. Le radical copte ϣⲏⲧ qui entre dans les locutions ⲙⲉⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ "de la sorte," ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ, ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲣⲏⲧ "de manière que," etc., n'a pas à ma connaissance été identifié avec le mot hiéroglyphique qui en est prototype. Je pense que nous avons à chercher ce dernier dans le groupe, bien fréquent   .

* Le groupe  se lit   ,  . LE PAGE RENOUF dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1867, page 32. Cfr. le copte ⲙⲉⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ, ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ.

† In späten verwilderten (?) texten des mittellägyptischen und oberägyptischen dialects werden die labialen fricativen ,  und  oft unterschiedslos gebraucht. STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, page 27.

En faveur de ce rapprochement parle déjà la ressemblance de son qu'il y a entre $\text{pH}^\dagger$ et $\text{pH}^\ddagger$. Mais nous avons de plus fortes raisons à alléguer. Prenons au hasard quelques exemples, tirés de nos collections lexicographiques :

a. "J'accorde que ton nom soit solide à la manière de celui de Tmu à Héliopolis."^{*†}

b. +

"Solide et vivant soit dans l'horizon le principal récitateur PETI-
ÂMENÂP, à l'instar du nom d'Isis de la ville de Neter. Solide et
vivant soit dans l'horizon PETIÂMENÂP, de même qu'éternellement."

“Que son nom soit établi, *de la même manière* que les vôtres.”†

Dans ces exemples et des exemples analogues,  *lit.*: "comme est solide") grâce au groupe , var.  , qui précède, bientôt a eu à peu près le sens du  simple, à plus forte raison que l'on pouvait employer  seul avec le même effet. Ainsi l'exemple *a* aurait fort bien pu se lire :       , etc.

Le copte nous fournit des exemples, où deux $\rho\eta\tau$ se manifestent à la fois, de même que, pour les passages que nous venons d'emprunter à la littérature hiéroglyphique, nous rencontrons par deux fois le groupe    et varr. En voici une bonne

* CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, I, page 882.

† DÜMICHEN, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 36. Le même texte renferme une demi-douzaine d'exemples, bâtis sur le même modèle que celui, communiqué en haut.

† LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, III, 246 c. Vers les basses époques, l'expression  + un nom de dieu, devient fort usitée. Voir par exemple, le ritual hiératique, publié par BIRCH (*Proceedings*, VII, June) d'après le manuscrit No. 10,111 du British Museum.

preuve: $\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ}$
 $\text{ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲭⲥ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲱⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ}^*$

Évidemment ici, l'acception originaire du mot ⲡⲏⲧ̅ a complètement cédé à la nouvelle, engendrée par le changement qui, à cet égard, s'est produit dans l'imagination populaire. L'introduction de l'article dans le mot ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ , par rapport à la forme hiéroglyphique

ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ , n'offre pas plus d'anomalie, que l'insertion de la lettre

ⲧ̅ dans le copte ⲡⲉⲩ , qui dérive de l'ancien $\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅}^{\dagger}$

57. En feuilletant l'ouvrage, fort intéressant, que vient de publier BRUGSCH $\ddagger$ sur la stèle découverte par M. WILBOUR à l'île de Sehel, j'ai rencontré le passage de texte suivant :

$\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ}$
 $\text{ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲭⲥ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲱⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ}$
 $\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ}$
 $\text{ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲡⲭⲥ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲱⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ}$

qui selon BRUGSCH signifierait : "um zu machen Opfer an allen Dingen guten für seinen Vater Osiris den grossen Gott, Herrn des Abaton, und seine Mutter Isis, die Lebenspenderin, Herrin von Philä, am Anfang jeder Dekade."§

La partie en italique de cette traduction, qui correspond à l'expression que voici $\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ}$ du texte hiéroglyphique, m'a donné à réfléchir. A dire nettement mon opinion, je ne crois pas que ce point de la traduction de BRUGSCH soit exact. De même pour le passage de texte suivant : $\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ}$, que le grand savant a rendu de la sorte "Am Anfang der Woche ohne zu machen Fehl."||

Un troisième passage de texte, également emprunté à l'ouvrage sus-mentionné, a la teneur suivante : $\text{ⲙⲉⲫⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲙ ⲥⲉⲡⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ}$, selon BRUGSCH : "Am Anfang jeder 10-tägigen Woche."

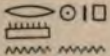
* *Epîtres aux Corinth.*, I, 15, 22, citées dans STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, page 403.

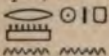
† BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, III, page 1148.

‡ *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth*.

§ *Loc. cit.*, page 76.

|| *Ibid.*, page 84. Tant le texte d'où a été tirée cette citation que celui, mentionné antérieurement, sont connus depuis longtemps dans la science.

A cette occasion, je prends la liberté de relever un autre point—celui-là plus essentiel—où je m'écarte de l'acception que soutient M. MASPERO dans l'article sus-mentionné. C'est concernant le sens de l'expression    du texte qui nous occupe. BRUGSCH* l'a rendue par "von diesem Tage an" (*à partir de ce jour*), tandis que l'égyptologue français propose de la traduire par "jusqu'à ce jour." Mais cette dernière traduction offre un sens tout-à-fait illogique, ce qui ne peut être reproché à celle de l'éminent égyptologue qui a le premier interprété les longues inscriptions, relatives aux campagnes d'Horus. Ou que dit-on de l'opportunité logique de "jusqu'à ce jour" dans les paroles suivantes, empruntées à la traduction de M. MASPERO:† "Thot dit à Ra: 'Soit-il appelé *celui des bouches orageuses* à cause de cela, jusqu'à ce jour! Et puisque Harhouditi‡ a livré bataille avec le maudit en cette place, soit dite cette place Oxyrrynchos jusqu'à ce jour.'"

Une excellente preuve en faveur de la signification "à partir de ce jour" que, à l'exemple de BRUGSCH, nous voulons conférer à la locution    des dites textes d'Edfou, a la teneur que voici :

 —   —    —    —    — "Son hauteur complète est de 40 coudées, à partir de son sommet jusqu'à ses pieds."§

Par cela, nous ne nions aucunement, que   ne désigne parfois "jusqu'à," signification que BRUGSCH, il y a longtemps, a consignée dans son Dictionnaire|| et sa Grammaire.¶ L'égyptien a d'ailleurs un autre mot,   , qui s'emploie dans les deux sens, presque opposés, "à partir de," "jusqu'à."

* *Die Sage, etc.*, passim.

† *Proceedings*, XIII, page 301.

‡ En faveur de la lecture *Behuſet* du mot  parle, entre autre, cette

phrase à allitération :                                         

C'est à des lois psychologiques que sont dues cette particularité et d'autres de la même espèce, dont surtout les langues indo-européennes pourraient nous fournir des spécimens instructifs. Mais l'espace, dont ici nous pouvons disposer, ne nous permet pas d'entrer dans des considérations circonstanciées sur cette matière, très intéressante.

59. Je lis dans les *Proceedings** les paroles suivantes : "Les variantes ptolémaïques ne sont pas souvent, comme on le croit d'ordinaire, de pures fantaisies des scribes et des graveurs ; elles ont été déterminées presque toujours, au moins dans les premiers temps, par la valeur vocalique des signes qu'elles employaient. . . . Ainsi la variante  de l'article masculin singulier  nous montre quelle était la vocalisation de cet article." Par cette thèse, qui d'ailleurs contient une assertion† que d'avance nous pouvons désigner comme inexacte, notre honorable collègue, M. MASPERO, veut, semble-t-il, changer du tout au tout l'acception de l'écriture ptolémaïque, acception que, d'accord avec BRUGSCH, le juge le plus compétent en cette matière, les égyptologues, s'adonnant à l'étude de cette époque, ont cru pouvoir embrasser.

Pourtant, en examinant les raisons, alléguées en faveur de la nouvelle théorie, on se convainc bientôt qu'elles ne sont ni bien nombreuses, ni bien solides non plus. Si  change avec  dans certains noms propres, comme       à côté de              l'existence de la variante              du même nom nous amène *a priori* tout aussi bien à lire les  et  de ces exemples *pe*, qu'à accorder de la confiance à la transcription *pe*, que, en ce cas, recommande

* *Proceedings*, XIII, page 311.

† On n'a pas prétendu—ce n'est point au moins le cas d'aucun égyptologue, sachant vraiment lire les textes de basses époques—que les variantes ptolémaïques soient de pures fantaisies des scribes et des graveurs. En général, on a tâché et réussi à expliquer ces variantes au moyen de l'*acrophonie*. C'est ce qu'a fait, par exemple, BRUGSCH dans sa *Grammaire Hiéroglyphique*. De ce qu'il y a des lacunes dans nos connaissances de l'écriture égyptienne, nous n'avons aucune raison de désigner comme de pures fantaisies des scribes et des graveurs les points de la dite écriture qui nous sont obscurs. Ce serait là certainement une manière peu méthodique de traiter de la science.

M. MASPERO. Du reste, l'usage des hiérogrammates de supprimer dans l'écriture aussi souvent que possible les voyelles, est de même un bon appui en faveur de la lecture *p* pour les signes  et  du susdit exemple. Nous connaissons d'ailleurs d'autres exemples de basse époque, où les trois signes , ,  s'échangent entre eux.

Ainsi, un texte d'Esneh, publié par BRUGSCH,* les emploie indifféremment comme marques du soi-disant vocatif.

Des inscriptions d'Edfou, datant du commencement de l'époque ptolémaïque, épèlent le nom géographique Poune, de la sorte : , , , etc.† Ici, il n'y a aucune raison d'attribuer à  une autre valeur que celle de la lettre *p*.

A Esneh le mot "modeler," *nḥp*, s'écrit tantôt    tantôt    § Si nous adoptons les vues de M. MASPERO, nous aurions ici l'équation  =  *pi*. Cela concorderait mal avec l'équation  =  *pe*, que le même savant a soutenue. D'ailleurs, les textes d'Esneh nous fournissent aussi la forme    || ce qui appuie notre thèse :  ptolémaïque = *p*.

Nous nous souvenons d'avoir rencontré la variante  de la racine pronominale . Elle prouve également la valeur *p* de  En adoptant pour ce cas la thèse de M. MASPERO, nous obtiendrions l'équation  = , ce qui, suivant les remarques qui précèdent, nous amènerait à formuler la conclusion, que  ptolémaïque équivaut à , , , c'est-à-dire que les trois voyelles , ,  à cette époque sont identiques de prononciation, ce qui reviendrait à dire que l'égyptien d'alors n'avait à-peu-près qu'une seule voyelle. Mais jusqu'ici on n'a pas réussi à découvrir une langue, aussi pauvre en voyelles, et l'égyptien à coup sûr n'a, à aucune époque de sa vie historique, présenté un pareil état d'abnormité.

Pour prouver l'équation  = *pe* (c'est-à-dire *p* + voyelle) quant à , ,  et des mots semblables, il aurait fallu pouvoir produire en premier lieu une variante , , , le

* *Thesaurus*, IV, page 627.

† PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Nouvelle Série. Pl. I-XX, *passim*.

‡ *Thesaurus*, IV, page 651, A.

§ *Ibid.*, IV, page 627.

|| *Thesaurus*, IV, page 625.

mot  ayant très vraisemblablement la valeur *pe*, à l'époque ptolémaïque. Tant qu'une pareille variante n'a pas été relevée, on est pardonné, si l'on refuse même d'admettre une discussion de la nouvelle thèse de M. MASPERO.

Notre honorable confrère ne cite en faveur de sa nouvelle thèse que deux faits bien insignifiants. L'un vient d'être écarté. L'autre ne vaut guère plus. "Si, dans les textes ptolémaïques"—dit l'égyptologue français—"on trouve  à côté de , c'est que  avait alors la même prononciation que .

 Cette assertion n'est pourtant guère exacte qu'à la condition que vers la fin on en insère les mots "dans ce cas" ou "quelquefois." M. LE PAGE RENOUF a fait remarquer * que : "Two polyphonous characters are homophonous in only one value," règle qui s'applique fort bien ici,  ayant anciennement comme plus tard tant la valeur de *mer* que celle de *hen* et de *m* + une voyelle que nous ne voulons pas fixer en ce moment.†

Mais admettons que le signe  du mot  eut à l'époque ptolémaïque la même prononciation que  de , et que l'un et l'autre représentaient ici la valeur *mi*, *me*, comme le veut M. MASPERO. Comment alors expliquer que nous ne trouvions jamais une variante  ,   pour le groupe qui communément s'écrit  ,  . Les raisons que, empruntées

* *Proceedings*, IX, page 85.

† Je suis fort tenté d'attribuer à  des dynasties thébaines, deux valeurs différentes, à savoir *mā* et *m* + une autre voyelle que *ā* (ou peut-être même celle de *m* simple). A cette époque, on trouve régulièrement  et , . Les très rares occasions, où j'ai vu , me portent à regarder  de ce dernier groupe ou comme une faute, ou comme résultant d'une fausse analogie, d'après .

‡ Ou   pour le mot très fréquent  ! Cette objection n'est pourtant pas décisive. Mais quand même  de  serait = *mi*, *me*, cela pourrait être une survivance de la bonne époque hiéroglyphique; où, par exemple, le  du verbe  "aimer" était, quelquefois au moins, tombé. Le second fait insignifiant qu'invoque M. MASPERO en faveur de sa thèse serait donc tout de même nul.

à des inscriptions de l'ancien empire, notre honorable confrère cite en faveur de son avis que la voyelle du groupe ,  a été la même que celle qui sépare les deux lettres *m* et *r* du mot , ne signifient rien pour une période, postérieure à l'autre de 2500 ans. C'est pousser bien loin le procédé mathématique* que M. MASPERO semble vouloir appliquer à l'étude de la langue égyptienne.†

En faisant la revue des hiéroglyphes de l'époque ptolémaïque, on trouve, abstraction faite de ceux qui tant pour leur forme extérieure que pour leur valeur lui sont communs avec la bonne époque, que ces signes, ayant la valeur *d'une seule consonne* ou *d'une seule voyelle*, la plupart du temps, sont de tels signes qui originairement se lisaient au moyen d'une consonne et d'une voyelle ou *vice versa*. Par exemple, , ptolémaïque = *s*, se lisait autrefois, uniquement *sa* ;  ptol. = *ā*, se lisait autrefois  () *āt*. A cette catégorie sont venus se joindre des signes qui, originairement représentant deux consonnes, par la chute de la consonne finale, sont arrivés à présenter le même type qu'en partie la catégorie susmentionnée, c'est-à-dire, ont offert la combinaison *d'une consonne et d'une voyelle*. Ayant revêtu ce caractère déjà avant l'époque ptolémaïque, il est fort naturel que, au moment de la victoire du principe acrophonique, ils ont passé à l'état de simples consonnes. A cette classe de signes, je compte par exemple ceux qui originairement terminaient par la lettre *r*, qui plus tard a très souvent disparu de la prononciation; comme , , , var. ,  var. . J'ai déjà dans un autre endroit montré que cette chute de *r* probablement a été due à l'existence en égyptien de la *liquida sonans*, ayant subi ici à peu près le même traitement que celui qu'elle a éprouvé dans les

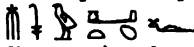
* Ce procédé, éminemment dangereux sous certains rapports pour la vraie entente de l'égyptien comme langue et comme objet d'études philologiques, a été appliqué avec une rare constance dans un article "Lettre à M. MASPERO sur la prononciation et la vocalisation du copte et de l'ancien égyptien," qui vient de paraître dans le *Recueil de Vieux* (XII, pages 23 et suiv.).

† Une ophthalmie dont je souffre depuis quelque temps, m'empêche actuellement de donner suite à mon intention de combattre plusieurs procédés généraux dont use, à tort selon moi, le titulaire actuel de la chaire de CHAMPOLLION, en traitant de la langue égyptienne. J'espère une autre fois être en mesure de discuter ces questions.

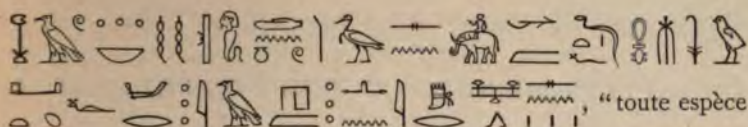
langues indo-européennes. Tandis que certaines bouches lisaient  *mēr*, d'autres, incapables de rendre la voyelle *r*, le prononçaient *mē*. De même *her* à côté de *hē*, pour  ; *cher* à côté de *chē* pour  etc., prononciations qui, comme nous l'avons relevé, déjà très anciennement ont subsisté les unes auprès des autres. A la même classe de signes appartiennent encore d'autres qui, originairement bilittères à *t* final, ont quelquefois perdu cette dernière lettre, comme , ,  etc. Ici se rangent peut-être aussi les signes bilittères à consonne finale qui sont arrivés à modifier cette dernière en voyelle. Ceci paraît en partie être le cas de  *neb*,  *seb*, etc.

Toutefois, il reste toujours un assez grand nombre de signes à valeurs bilittères ou trilitères qui vers ou pendant l'époque ptolémaïque semblent avoir passé directement à l'état de consonnes ou voyelles simples.

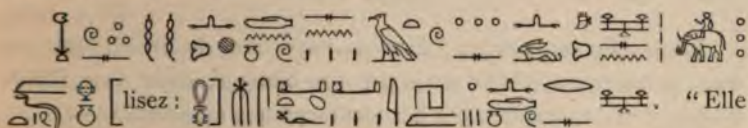
Voilà l'acception que je soutiens en ce moment, acception qui ne diffère que sur des points de second ou troisième ordre de celle, formulée par BRUGSCH dans sa *Grammaire Hiéroglyphique*. Je ne m'attends bien entendu aucunement à voir adopter de suite ma façon de penser par M. MASPERO, mais j'espère au moins qu'elle portera notre honorable confrère à étudier plus sérieusement les inscriptions ptolémaïques, auxquelles jusqu'ici il semble avoir accordé bien peu d'attention. Dans l'intérêt des débutants, on me permettra finalement, sans doute, d'inviter l'habile égyptologue français à employer des expressions et assertions moins définitives, lorsqu'il formule des thèses comme celle que nous venons de combattre. Actuellement, cette thèse selon nous est si mal appuyée, si peu démontrée, qu'elle mérite plus que jamais le nom d'hypothèse hasardée.*

60. Les textes ptolémaïques nous fournissent des exemples où l'expression  "sa mere à lui l'a enfanté" et var., joue le rôle d'une espèce de substantif, lequel, précédé de la particule , revêt le caractère d'un vrai adverbe. En voici des exemples :

* Il serait indubitablement plus pratique de remplacer le terme *écriture ptolémaïque* par celle d'*écriture des basses époques*, quand on parle des hiéroglyphes, formés en temps historique d'après le système acrologique. De cette manière, on n'exclue point les époques, antérieures et postérieures à celle des Ptolémées, du droit de compter parmi les partisans du dit système.



de plantes odoriférantes, sans nombre, le vrai bois *āb* en abondance, des parfums *l'eser* et *āhem* sans fin."*

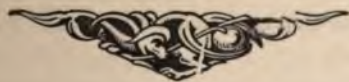


possède des matières odoriférantes, dont on ignore la quantité, de l'encens sans limites, le vrai bois *āb* en abondance, des parfums *l'eser* et *āhem*, en nombre immense." †

NOTA.—En relisant mon article, il me vient à l'esprit, que mon explication de *Kpāphi* et *Māphi* est peut-être susceptible d'une modification notable. La dite expression grécisée dérive possiblement d'un . Le  comme marque du "génitif" se montre dans les textes de date récente—c'est-à-dire du temps où Hérodote a visité l'Égypte—non seulement pour des cas où dans le copte  remplace  quant au dit emploi, mais également à d'autres occasions. Cela dit, *groti m hapi* fait un bon point de départ pour *Kpāphi Māphi*; je maintiens alors, bien entendu, toutes les autres conclusions de ma note d'en haut.

* DÜMICHEN, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels*, XXXIII.

† BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, IV, Pl. C.



UN PAPYRUS BILINGUE DU TEMPS DE PHILOPATOR.

PAR LE PROFESSEUR E. REVILLOUT.

PART I.

La dernière acquisition démotique importante du British Museum consiste dans un très curieux papyrus bilingue, dont nous allons donner le texte, accompagné des commentaires indispensables.

Commençons par la traduction du démotique (1)* :

“An 12, tybi, du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée et de Bérénice, les dieux évergètes—Adonaïos, fils d'Adonaïos, étant prêtre d'Alexandre et des dieux sauveurs, des dieux frères, des dieux évergètes, des dieux philopators, pour la 2^e (fois) (2)—Gennaia, fille de Thémistios, (3) étant canéphore devant Arsinoë philadelphie—I(s)mène, (4) fille de Kalligènes, étant prêtre(sse) de Bérénice, la dame de la force, l'évergète—Nicanor, fils de Bacis, étant prêtre, en Thébaïde, de Ptolémée, le dieu, et des dieux philopators ;

“Le grec Nicon, surnommé Pétéchons, fils d'Athénion, et dont la mère est Tsémin, dit à l'habitant de Pakerk, (5) Thotau, (6) fils de Psémin :

“Tu as donné—et mon cœur en est satisfait—l'argent de mon champ, qui fait 11 aroures et $\frac{5}{8}$,—ou 11 aroures plus $\frac{1}{4} \frac{3}{8}$ —11 aroures et $\frac{5}{8}$, je le répète, (7) avec leurs *au nxi*, (8) et qui (est situé) sur le *neterhotep* d'Amon (nommé) Pset-(n)-Amen-api, dans le quartier ouest de Thèbes, (faisant partie du) nome Pathyrite. Au sud de ce champ est le champ d'Ammonius, fils de Kallikratès ; au nord, le champ de Psémin, fils de Philolaos ; à l'orient, le bourg que l'on nomme P-magdol ; (9) à l'occident, mon autre champ, qui fait 3 aroures avec leurs *au nxi* et que la stèle (de bornage) en sépare. Tels sont tous les voisins du champ, qui fait 11 aroures $\frac{5}{8}$ avec leurs *au nxi* ci-dessus (indiqués).

“Je t'ai donné cela. Il est à toi, ton champ susdit, qui fait 11 aroures et $\frac{5}{8}$ avec leurs *au nxi*. J'ai reçu son prix en argent de

Les chiffres entre parenthèses indiquent les notes, voir à la fin de l'article.

ta main. Il est complet, sans aucun reliquat. Mon cœur en est satisfait. Je n'ai plus aucune parole à te faire en son nom.

"Qui que ce soit au monde n'a point à en connaître. Moi, seul, je l'écarterais de toi. Depuis ce jour, celui qui viendra à toi à son sujet en mon nom, au nom de quiconque, je le ferai s'éloigner de toi.

"Que je te garantisse cela par écrit quelconque, acte quelconque, parole quelconque au monde, en tout temps.

"A toi, les écrits et les arrangements (10) le concernant, en quel que lieu qu'ils soient : tout écrit qui ait été fait (antérieurement) sur ce lieu, et tout écrit qu'on m'a fait sur cela, tout écrit par lequel je te ferai rendre justice. (11) Ces écrits sont à toi, ainsi que le droit en résultant.

"A toi, ce par quoi je te ferai rendre justice en leur nom : l'adjuration, l'établissement sur pieds (12) que l'on fera pour toi dans le lieu de justice au nom du droit de l'écrit ci-dessus que je t'ai fait. Que j'aie à faire cela, je le ferai, sans alléguer aucun arrangement quelconque, aucune parole au monde, par rapport à toi.

"A écrit Chonsthot, fils d'Hor, qui écrit au nom des prêtres des cinq classes d'Amon-ra-sonter, des dieux frères, des dieux évergètes, des dieux philopators."

Voici maintenant l'enregistrement grec :

Λ ιγ (13) τυβί δ̄ πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Διοσπόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ
τελώνιον τοῦ ἐγκυκλίου, ἔφ' οὗ Ἑρμοκλῆς ὁ πραγματευόμενος,
βασιλεῖ, παρὰ Θοτεῦτος τοῦ Ψεμμίνιος καὶ Νίκωνος, ὃς καὶ Πε
τέχωνσις, Ἀθηνίωνος, τὸ γινόμενον τέλος εἰς τὴν τοῦ
ἐγκυκλίου πρόσοδον (14) ἀρούρων ἑνδεκα ἡμίσεις ὀγδόου, ἥ (15) ἐστίν
ἐν Πεστενεμένωφει (16) τοῦ Παθυρίτου, ἣν (17) ἀγοράζει παρὰ
Νίκωνος τοῦ προγεγραμμένου κατὰ συγγραφὴν Αἰγυπτίαν
ὡνῆς, ἣν ἐγράψατο αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τυβί τοῦ ιγΛ.

Τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τέλος ὁκτὼ διοβόλους δι' χαλκον,
ἑωρεῦς τριώβολον, χαλκ (18) ἢ ἄ (19) τέσσαρας ὀβολούς.

Ἑρμοκλῆς ὁ παρὰ Νουμηνίου

"Il a été versé (échu en paiement), pour le roi, au τελώνιον de cette période de location de l'impôt, à Diospolis la grande, de l'administration duquel Hermoclès est chargé, de la part de Thoteus, fils de Psemmis, et de Nicon, lequel est appelé aussi Pétéchonsis, fils d'Athénion. (20) la taxe (le droit de mutation) échéante—rentrant dans les revenus à percevoir pour cette période de location de

l'impôt—de 11 aroures $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$. La terre en question est située à Psétenamenapi, dans le nome Pathyrite. Il (Thoteus) l'achète de Nicon, sus-mentionné, suivant un contrat égyptien que (celui-ci) lui écrivit dans le mois de tybi de l'an 13. (Ils ont versé) la *taxe* (le droit de mutation) pour tous les deux : huit dioboles, un dichalque ; (plus), à titre de don : un tri-obole ; (et), de cuivre ou *change* : quatre oboles. Hermoclès, l'employé de Nouménios."

Ce contrat a été trouvé avec un autre contrat qui est également aujourd'hui au British Museum, mais qui, lui, est exclusivement démotique. Le premier de ces deux contrats, celui que nous publions ici, est ce qu'on nomme, en style juridique égyptien, un "écrit pour argent," (ou de "rétribution de l'argent" ; car *Teb* en démotique correspond en copte à $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ et à $\tau\omega\omega\beta\epsilon$, sauf à une récente époque, où l'on écrit le *e* initial pour *etbe* = $\bigcirc$ A J D).

Le second, qui l'accompagne, est un "écrit de cession." Tous les deux portent la même date, les noms des mêmes parties, et sont relatifs à la même vente des mêmes biens. En effet, en droit égyptien, il fallait avoir recours à deux actes de ces types pour toute aliénation. Par l'écrit pour argent, le vendeur abandonnait la propriété du bien en question, dont il reconnaissait avoir reçu le prix complet, sans aucun reliquat ; et par l'écrit de cession, il en abandonnait la jouissance. Mais quand il y avait eu ainsi aliénation complète, quand il existait un écrit pour argent, c'était uniquement cet écrit pour argent qui était à enregistrer, soit en grec, soit en démotique ; on n'enregistrait l'écrit de cession que s'il n'y avait pas d'écrit pour argent parallèle, par exemple dans les simples cessions de droits. Je crois inutile d'ailleurs de traduire ici l'écrit de cession dont on trouvera les formules tant dans mes *Chrestomathies Démotiques* que dans ma *Revue Egyptologique*, etc. Au point de vue du droit, je renverrai à mes divers volumes de droit égyptien, et particulièrement à mes deux nouveaux volumes sur l'état des biens, dans lesquels j'étudie les origines, les développements et les progrès de la propriété tant en Egypte qu'en Chaldée, etc.

Venons en maintenant aux questions assez nombreuses qui, dans notre contrat bilingue, méritent une étude détaillée ; et, pour plus d'ordre, classons les en quatre chapitres : — 1^o, la question des mesures superficielles ; 2^o, celle des monnaies ; 3^o, celle des impôts sur les ventes ; 4^o, celle du mode de perception des impôts.

dans la plus antique des inscriptions métrologiques égyptiennes, et comme les textes agricoles publiés par M. Guieysse dans sa *Revue Egyptologique*, VI, No. 1, p. 23, et beaucoup d'autres textes bien connus de mes lecteurs, qu'il serait trop long d'énumérer, surtout après les compilations des dictionnaires de Brugsch, de Levi, etc., en font toujours la principale unité agraire des époques pharaoniques intermédiaires entre l'ancien empire et la période démotico-copte—de même qu'ils donnent d'ailleurs à $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} = \epsilon\iota\omega\zeta\epsilon$, le sens du mot "champ." (23)

L'aroure était en effet le champ type, tel que se le figuraient les Egyptiens, et c'est pour cela qu'encore à l'époque byzantine "mes aroures" signifiaient "mes champs," en grec même. Je citerai à ce sujet un curieux contrat grec de location, du Louvre, qui a été publié par notre collaborateur Wessely, dans le No. IV de la III^e année de ma *Revue Egyptologique*, p. 179 et suiv. Le fermier dit, par exemple: *εἰ δὲ κρύψομεν ὑποστειλόμενοι τι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρούρων ἐώσειν προστίμου χρυσίου νομίσματα εἴκοσι χρ. ὧς ὥς νομιτεύεται.* "Si nous volons ou celons quelque chose (venant) de ces aroures (de ces champs), il nous faut payer une amende de quatre écus d'or, comme ils sont en cours." Il est bien certain que, dans cette phrase, ce qu'on mentionne comme donnant des produits, ce sont des champs, appelés ici aroures, et non des mesures de champs appelées aroures, considérées en elles mêmes, au point de vue métrologique.

A ce dernier point de vue, auquel l'autre se rattache du reste intimément, Hérodote nous apprend que l'aroure (type du champ égyptien) était formée par un carré de cent coudées égyptiennes sur toutes faces: *ἡ δὲ ἀρουρα ἑκατὸν πεχέων ἐστίν Αἰγυπτίων πάντη*, c'est-à-dire qu'elle comprenait 10,000 coudées carrées. Cette assertion d'Hérodote a été absolument confirmée par les données relatives à une mesure divisionnaire, que Peyron a eu l'insigne honneur de signaler le premier dans les contrats démotiques, et qu'il a nommée "coudée d'aroure," au cours de son beau travail sur le papyrus grec de Zoïs, p. 37 et suivantes, en l'assimilant à la coudée superficielle appelée simplement $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ par les enregistrements grecs des mêmes contrats. Ainsi que l'a très bien vu l'illustre helléniste, un $\text{Ϛ} \text{ ϙ } | \text{Ϛ}$ correspond à ce $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ particulier et comprend cent $\text{ϙ} \text{ ϙ } | \text{ϙ}$ ou $\text{Ϛ} \text{ ϙ } | \text{ϙ}$. Il en a donc conclu que ce $\text{Ϛ} \text{ ϙ } | \text{Ϛ}$ était un $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ de large sur l'une des faces du carré de l'aroure, avec toute la profondeur de l'aroure, c'est-à-dire une coudée de large sur

100 coudées de long, et qu'il se divisait naturellement en cent coudées carrées ou 𐤀𐤆𐤊 . Bien entendu, il admettait aussi que la disposition de ces coudées carrées pouvait n'être pas toujours celle de la supposition initiale qui avait donné naissance à cette division de l'aroure et qu'il fallait simplement traduire 𐤏𐤀𐤊𐤀 par 100 coudées carrées, quelque fût la place qu'occupaient les dites coudées.

C'était aussi, il faut bien le dire, une simple supposition. Mais cette supposition a été confirmée pleinement par mes études postérieures. En effet, j'ai trouvé et publié (*Zeits. de Lepsius*, 1879, p. 135) un contrat du British Museum, contenant un autre calcul, cette fois décisif. Ce contrat mentionnait non seulement les mesures superficielles 𐤏𐤀𐤊𐤀 et les mesures superficielles 𐤏𐤀𐤆𐤊 (qui sont toujours dans la proportion de 1 à 100, indiquée par Peyron), mais aussi, pour chaque côté des propriétés mesurées, les mesures de simple longueur, en coudées ordinaires, écrites en toutes lettres *meh*, comme en hiéroglyphes, en démotique, et en copte—ces coudées égyptiennes, enfin, dont nous avons dans les Musées, avec leur nom, tant d'étalons en nature, si bien divisés et subdivisés. Or, tous les chiffres concordent d'une façon admirable : 10 coudées du sud au nord sur 12 coudées de l'est à l'ouest bornaient en superficie un 𐤏𐤀𐤊𐤀 et un cinquième, ou 120 𐤀𐤆𐤊 . Le 𐤀𐤆𐤊 (qu'il faut prononcer *meh* $\chi\epsilon\tau$, en donnant à 𐤀 = 𐤀 la valeur *meh*, (24) que ce simple idéogramme suffit souvent à exprimer) est avec certitude la coudée carrée. Quant au fameux $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ superficiel, qui n'est pas du tout—Peyron l'avait déjà bien vu—la coudée carrée, comme on pourrait s'y attendre, il correspondait au contraire certainement, selon sa supposition judicieuse, à 100 coudées carrées, et s'il porte le nom de $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$, c'est parcequ'en démotique il avait (tout autant que son centième, le 𐤏𐤀𐤆𐤊) pour premier élément le signe 𐤀 = 𐤀 *meh*, "coudée," à cause de son origine qui le rapportait à une "coudée d'aroure : " c'est-à-dire à une coudée de côté de l'aroure, comme l'avait dit Peyron.

Faut-il supposer cependant, d'après cela, que dans le terme démotique composé 𐤏𐤀𐤊𐤀 , équivalant métrologiquement au $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ (25) superficiel d'une coudée de côté de l'aroure sur 100 coudées de long, l'élément 𐤏𐤀𐤊𐤀 signifierait aussi aroure? Pas le

quable avec celui de Rosette, et ne peuvent laisser l'ombre d'un doute au sujet de la valeur et de la lecture de la mesure a (33) = ἀράβη, telles qu'elles avaient été déjà indiquées dans ma *Chrestomathie Démotique* dix ans avant la découverte de ces textes, et alors que tout le monde considérait encore comme exacts le déchiffrement, la transcription, et la traduction de Brugsch pour *artou* = ἀράβη, etc.

En réalité, il n'y a aucune analogie entre : d'une part, soit la traduction démotique de l'artabe, soit celle du κεράμιον, soit—nous l'avons vu déjà—celle de l'aroure, et, d'une autre part, l'expression composée $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } | \text{ } \text{X}$, servant à traduire le πῆχυν superficiel de 100 coudées carrées.

Mais qu'est donc analytiquement ce mot $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } | \text{ } \text{X}$ dont nous avons indiqué la valeur métrologique, sans l'avoir encore expliqué philologiquement?

Nous avons déjà dit que le premier élément était $\text{X} = \text{C}$, "coudée." Quand au second élément, la lecture en est bien simple—en dépit des lectures ultra-fantaisistes qu'on en a essayées jusqu'ici. Rien n'est plus connu, en effet, que la ligature $\underline{\text{L}} = \text{L}$ *ten*—qui entre dans le nom de la mesure de superficie en question—comme rien n'est mieux connu que la ligature $\underline{\text{L}} = \text{L}$ *arp*, qui entre dans le nom de la mesure de vin $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } | \text{ } \text{arp}$, ou $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } |$, servant dans les bilingues déjà cités à traduire οἶνον κεράμιον. Le mot $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } |$ —qui n'a jamais été employé dans aucun texte pour aucune mesure de capacité, soit de solides, soit de liquides, pour aucune ἀράβη, ($| \text{ } \text{L} \text{ } |$), ou aucun κεράμιον (34) ($| \text{ } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } |$ ou $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L}} \text{ } |$), mais uniquement pour des mesures de superficie—doit tout simplement être rapproché de la racine $\text{C} \text{ } | \text{ } \text{C}$, $\text{C} \text{ } | \text{ } \text{C}$, signifiant "diviser," pour laquelle des renvois ne sont plus à faire, tant elle est connue de tous.

En résumé *meh aten* est en parallélisme exact avec *meh xet*. Le premier mot signifie simplement 100 coudées carrées. Le deuxième une coudée carrée. C'est vraiment tout ce qu'il est utile d'en savoir. Si, cependant, on veut aller un peu plus loin dans l'étymologie, je dirai que *meh aten* signifie une "coudée de la division," (35) c'est-à-dire une coudée de la division (par centièmes) d'un des côtés de l'aroure; tandis que, dans *meh xet*, $\text{L} \text{ } \text{L} \text{ } \text{E}$ doit être comparé à , mot qui, selon mon cher maître, E. De Rougé, désignait le terrain

nu de l'*area* où l'on battait le blé, etc., et signifie simplement ici *superficie urbaine*, ce qui donne "coudée de superficie."

Quant à l'aroure, dont la "coudée d'aroure," le *meh aten*, représente le centième—comme le *meh xet* représente la centième partie de cette centième partie — elle avait bien d'autres subdivisions possibles. Il faut même dire que quand il ne s'agissait pas de maisons bâties ou à bâtir (*ψιλότοπος*), mais de champs, les mesures superficielles *meh aten* et *meh xet* (réservées aux terrains de ville en thébaïde) n'étaient pas employées d'ordinaire. On comptait alors par aroures, et, s'il y avait lieu, par d'autres divisions de l'aroure. Ce sont ces divisions que l'étude de notre bilingue vient surtout éclairer d'un jour tout nouveau.

Ainsi que nous le disions en commençant ce chapitre, "c'est la première fois qu'un contrat bilingue fait mention de l'aroure, jusqu'ici mentionnée séparément soit par des papyrus démotiques, soit par des papyrus grecs." J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de parler incidemment dans ce chapitre de nombreux contrats démotiques relatifs à des ventes de champs, et mentionnant l'aroure et ses divisions. Je citerai aussi quatre papyrus grecs qui se trouvent dans les mêmes conditions :—1° le grand procès d'Hermias, contenu dans le papyrus I^{er} de Turin, qui fait mention d'une affaire antérieure d'Hermias au sujet de champs contestés ; 2° le papyrus III de la publication de Wilcken sur les papiers de la banque de Thèbes ; 3° les deux papyrus de Zoïs, relatifs à une vente publique d'aroures de jardins.

Ces deux derniers papyrus font figurer, à côté de l'aroure, des divisions fort intéressantes et—chose curieuse—identiques à celles de notre bilingue, tandis que celles indiquées dans le No. III de Wilcken s'en rapprochaient beaucoup. Mais ces divisions, isolées de celles que l'on rencontre dans les papyrus démotiques relatifs à des ventes de champs, pouvaient fort peu les éclairer. Il pouvait arriver en effet qu'en outre de la division par centièmes, que nous trouvons employée pour les terrains de ville, l'aroure eût, pour les champs, diverses manières de se diviser. Or, les divisions que l'on trouvait en démotique pour l'aroure, ne semblaient pas rentrer du tout dans aucun des systèmes des fractions égyptiennes, connus jusqu'ici. Il fallait donc, pour se reconnaître complètement dans ce labyrinthe, un guide semblable à celui que nous fournit notre bilingue actuel. Dieu soit loué ! ce guide est enfin arrivé. Nous n'avons plus qu'à tirer d'utiles conclusions pratiques.

Lorsqu'Hérodote nous parle des aroures que partageaient les *μάχιμοι*, formant l'armée nationale de l'Égypte—et qu'on voit également mentionnés dans le décret trilingue de Rosette, dans les circulaires ministérielles grecques de l'époque Lagide, dans divers documents qui nous conduisent jusqu'au temps des Romains—il attribue à chacun de ces *μάχιμοι* douze aroures à cultiver. C'est à bien peu de chose près le même chiffre que celui des aroures que vend ici un grec épigone, c'est-à-dire le descendant d'un de ces soldats macédoniens auxquels les conquérants avaient accordé leur part de terre, à côté de la part des soldats égyptiens de race. En effet, notre papyrus nous apprend que le champ vendu par ce grec formait un ensemble de 11 aroures et $\frac{1}{2}$ ou en grec de 11 aroures $\frac{1}{2}$.

Ces fractions, $\frac{1}{2}$ et $\frac{1}{8}$, qu'on rencontre également dans le papyrus de Zoïs à côté des chiffres des aroures, et, avec la fraction intercalaire du $\frac{1}{4}$, dans le N° 111 de Wilcken, nous font voir que les aroures de champs avaient souvent alors la division dichotomique,—comme l'avait dit Horapollon (I, 5) en parlant du *τέταρτον ἀροῦρας*,—au lieu de la division décimale, déjà signalée par nous pour les terrains de ville, et de la division par 3, employée pour d'autres mesures, spécialement pour celles de capacité, dont nous avons déjà vu des exemples dans ce chapitre, etc. D'après un texte publié par Wilcken dans ma *Revue Egyptologique* (VI, p. 11), cette division déduplicative comprendrait non seulement la demi, le quart, le huitième et le 16^e, mais le 32^e et même le 64^e (δ', η', λβ', ξε'). Cette division dichotomique que nous retrouvons en grec et en démotique pour l'*aroure* ou *set-ah*, nous la retrouvons aussi dans les textes hiéroglyphiques pour cette même mesure *set-ah*, entre autres dans un jugement du temps des Ramessides qu'a publié mon cher collègue Erman (*Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 75), et dans lequel on voit par exemple 70 aroures $\frac{3}{4}$ et 10 coudées et demie, "70 $\frac{3}{4}$ aruren 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ elle," comme traduit très bien Erman. On voit également d'ailleurs des $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$, dans d'autres calculs relatifs à la mensuration des terres (conf. Eisenlohr, *Die feldertexte von Edfou*, pp. 14 et 15), fractions que Brugsch (*Suppl. au Lex.*, p. 1150) attribue avec raison au *sata* ou *set-ah* (*Lex.*, p. 1332) "unité de mesure agraire vraisemblablement l'aroure, mesurée d'après le , ou *σχοινίον*, mot qui en grec signifiait corde, chaîne, comme *χενnouh* en égyptien.

Dans tous les cas la division dichotomique paraît assez fréquente pour les champs, si elle n'était pas exclusive.

Ⲫⲉⲧⲓⲱⲓⲉ, qu'on trouve dès les plus anciennes époques, et, par exemple, dès l'inscription d'Amten, avec cette valeur, est bien l'unité métrologique fondamentale des égyptiens pour les terrains,—unité que, du reste, même sous son nom grec d'*ἄρουρα*, nous ne trouvons nullement dans le monde grec, mais seulement dans le monde égyptien. On voit combien en cela nous différons de Maspero, qui en publiant même l'inscription d'Amten, où ne figure que le *set-ah*, veut n'admettre comme *unique* unité métrologique qu'un prétendu *schoene*, auquel il attribue 40 coudées, comme Lepsius l'a fait à propos du temple d'Edfou.

Les textes examinés par Lepsius et Eisenlohr pour ce prétendu *schoene* ne remontent guère qu'à Darius, et ils descendent assez bas. Or, nous avons traduit tous les textes démotiques, non seulement de cette période, mais d'une période beaucoup plus ancienne encore. Jamais nous n'avons rencontré autre chose que l'aroure et ses fractions diverses en démotique, comme plus tard en grec. Abstractivement donc il paraîtrait assez étrange qu'on se fût servi en hiéroglyphes d'un système métrologique tout différent de celui des documents démotiques et grecs de même provenance. Mais est-il bien certain que les évaluations sur lesquelles on s'appuie aient une base solide ?

Notre cher collègue Eisenlohr, (40) qui dès 1870 avait photographié les textes d'Edfou et qui les a publiés depuis, en les faisant suivre d'une intéressante étude, n'en paraît pas bien sûr. Dans son mémoire *Die felder texte von Edfu*, il nous dit, en effet, à propos de la mesure  1, ou  @, ou  @, dans laquelle Lepsius avait cru voir le *schoene* de 40 coudées, que cette mesure, d'après les exemples qu'il donne, aurait pu avoir, *au moins* 40 coudées, et *peut-être* 100 : "das  X^e mindestens 40 vielleicht sogar 100 ellens," (p. 7). Il conclut même qu'elle signifiait simplement mesure, en reconnaissant d'ailleurs que c'était une mesure de simple longueur. Quant à l'expression  @, elle désigne simplement, comme d'ailleurs, le mot  @, et le grec *σχοίνιον*, la chaîne de mesurage, et n'en indique nullement la valeur métrologique, que Lepsius ne prouve absolument par aucun argument précis.

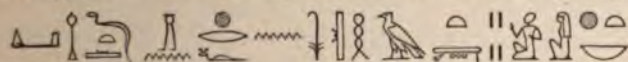
Il n'en est pas ainsi de l'aroure ou *set-ah*, que les textes hiéroglyphiques, dès les dates les plus reculées, viennent préciser aussi nettement que les textes grecs, démotiques, et coptes. Pour s'en assurer,

Maspéro n'aurait eu qu'à faire les calculs relatifs aux mesures agraires de l'inscription d'Amten, c'est-à-dire de cette inscription même à propos de laquelle il trouvait bon de nier implicitement l'aroure.

Et cependant, dans sa publication (*Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p. 382), il avait fort bien reconnu lui-même—ce qui était établi par tous ses prédécesseurs, à savoir que  . . .  était identique à   ou *CETEIAWE*, et que pour cette mesure agraire, l'élément *set* était séparable de *ah*—en étant d'ordinaire séparé par les chiffres (41)—et pouvait même en être supprimé sans changer le sens (nous en avons vu un exemple pour le *ah* = *apoupa* dans le démotique du décret de Rosette),—comme, ajouterons-nous, il pouvait remplacer à lui seul *set-ah*. Or, c'est cette mesure qui, soit sous sa forme pleine *setah*, soit sous sa forme abrégée *ah*, se retrouve seule et partout dans l'inscription d'Amten. Cette première notion aurait suffi évidemment pour la faire traduire par aroure, comme dans les textes démotiques ou bilingues que j'avais antérieurement publiés, dans les textes coptes, où *CETEIAWE* équivalait à *apoupa*, etc. Mais il y a mieux : l'inscription d'Amten nous donne l'évaluation de cette *aroure* telle qu'elle nous avait été déjà fournie par Hérodote. En effet, Hérodote nous affirme que l'*aroure* avait cent coudées de toutes parts, et, dans deux textes parallèles, Amten nous montre exactement la même chose.

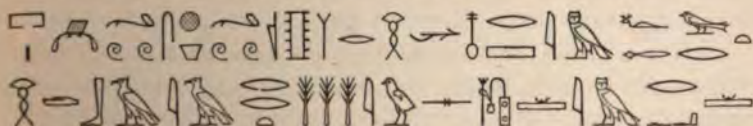
Il s'agit d'un domaine qu'Amten avait reçu, par donation royale, en vertu d'un rescrit royal.

A ce propos, je dois dire que Maspéro a fort bien rétabli le premier des deux passages, pour lequel certains signes avaient été d'abord oubliés par la négligence du scribe, puis avaient été ajoutés après coup, avec une croix indiquant le renvoi. Voici ce passage : (42)



“ Ordre fut donné de lui transmettre par lettres royales, 4 aroures de terre, des gens, et toute chose.”

Voici maintenant le second, tout à fait parallèle : (43)

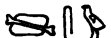


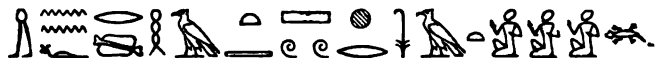


“Maison (propriété) longue de 200 coudées, large de 200 coudées, bâtie, garnie de très bons arbres, ayant (44) en elle des bassins très nombreux, plantée de figuiers et de vignes—(selon) ce qui est écrit (45) dans le rescrit royal : les noms en sont sur ce rescrit royal—garnie (enfin) de vignes nombreuses où l'on fait du vin en grande quantité, car il y fit une treille, de deux aroures de terre *χato*, entourée de murs et plantée de (bons) pieds.”

Ces deux passages concernent évidemment la même propriété ; car c'est la seule pour laquelle il soit question de rescrit royal. Or, 200 coudées de large sur 200 coudées de long, représentent exactement un carré de quatre aroures—chiffre indiqué dans le I^{er} des textes,—puisque chaque aroure avait 100 coudées sur chaque face selon Hérodote, c'est-à-dire 10,000 coudées carrées. Ici, il faut multiplier 10,000 par quatre—chiffre des aroures, et nous aurons 40,000 coudées carrées, ce qui s'éloigne le moins dans la métrologie égyptienne de notre hectare actuel, avec la différence en plus résultant de celle qui distingue la coudée de notre demi-mètre.

Ce nouveau texte est donc une confirmation éclatante de celui d'Hérodote et des métrologistes grecs.

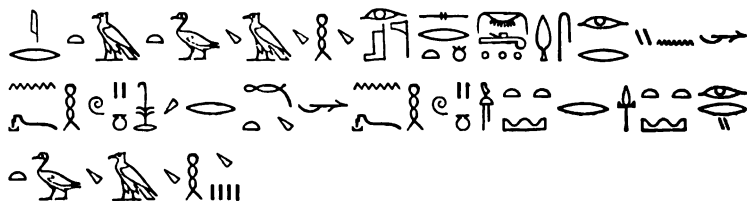
Les autres terrains dont il est question dans l'inscription d'Amten n'ont, du reste, avec ce fief aucun rapport. Jamais il n'est dit de ces 200 aroures, qu'elles ont été données par rescrit royal comme cela est dit pour la maison d'Amten et pour les châteaux royaux dont il transmet l'investiture à ses enfants. On note seulement qu'Amten les a reçues en équivalence,  *asu*, expression qu'on trouve sans cesse dans les textes archaïques démotiques, pour désigner les acquets de toute nature, par voie d'échange ou autrement. Voici ce que porte en effet un peu plus loin la suite du premier de nos deux textes : (46)



“Il acquit en équivalence 200 aroures de terre *st* (47) avec des esclaves en quantité.”

ou *χεννούη*, ou *σχοινίον*, désignait partout une unité de simple longueur, une *chaîne*, dans laquelle on a trop voulu voir la chaîne actuelle de nos arpenteurs, souvent longue de 20 mètres, mais dont cette mensuration précise reste tout au moins douteuse, et qui, dans tous les cas, même au carré, avait un rapport métrologique étroit avec l'aroure, spécialement usitée comme mesure de superficie.

Quant au    , dont Brugsch fait le quart d'aroure, Horapollon (50) semble en avoir visé le hiéroglyphe, dans son célèbre passage sur le signe du quart d'aroure employé dans certaines notations astronomiques. Ce *hesep*, en effet, paraît avoir eu une toute autre valeur que celle que Maspero indique dans son mémoire déjà cité, puisque d'après son propre témoignage, le même mot était employé pour désigner des domaines à grande culture, au lieu de représenter, à peine, selon son évaluation, le sol d'une très petite maison. Ajoutons, du reste, que toute la théorie de Lepsius sur le *schoene* carré, théorie qu'il a exprimée pour la première fois dans la *Zeitschrift* de 1865, p. 96, et suivantes, lui a été inspirée par l'ouvrage de Hulsch (*Metrolologicorum reliquia*), (51) qui venait de paraître l'année précédente, et dans lequel (p. 39, *et passim*) le métrologiste en question avait comparé le *σχοινιον* de dix *orgyes* à l'ancien *amma* des égyptiens—mesure parfaitement inconnue d'ailleurs aux égyptologues, et qui est, sous la forme *ammatu*, un des noms de la coudée chaldéenne. Mais aucun calcul précis ne vient, nous l'avons dit, appuyer des conclusions de ce genre et, pour nous, nous croyons avec beaucoup de nos collègues que le *xe* ou *xennouh* n'était que la corde de mesurage servant à évaluer le côté de l'aroure, dont il était l'équivalent en longueur (100 condées), ainsi que suffirait à le prouver ce passage célèbre de Dendérah publié par Mariette, etc. :—



“Quant au champ d’Osiris sur lequel on plante, il fait 2 *chet nouh* du sud au nord sur 2 *chet nouh* de l’ouest à l’est, ce qui fait 4 aroures.”

Ce calcul est tout aussi net que celui que j'avais publié dans la *Zeitschrift* de Lepsius (1879, p. 135), et qui assimilait avec certitude

la longueur du *meh* χet en donnant à un champ 10 coudées du sud au nord sur 12 coudées de l'ouest à l'est, ce qui fait 120 *meh* χet ou coudées carrées. On peut donc, je crois, considérer la question comme terminée—au moins jusqu'à preuve du contraire.

Voici maintenant un tableau figurant la série des mesures agraires, basées sur l'aroure pour unité et calculées d'après une division théorique, qui, portant sur un des côtés pour aller de là jusqu'au bout, constituait ainsi des parallélogrammes réguliers d'une longueur toujours invariable de cent coudées.

Aroure. Coudées de large. Coudées superficielles. Coudées d'aroure.

1	100	10,000	100
$\frac{1}{2}$	50	5,000	50
$\frac{1}{4}$	25	2,500	25
$\frac{1}{8}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	1,250	$12\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{16}$ (52)	$6\frac{1}{4}$	625	$6\frac{1}{4}$
$\frac{1}{32}$	$3\frac{1}{8}$	$312\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{8}$
$\frac{1}{64}$	$1\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{16}$	$156\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{16}$

Là s'arrête la division déduplicative de l'aroure, telle que nous la trouvons dans les documents les plus récents, grecs ou hiéroglyphiques. Il ne paraît pas qu'on soit allé beaucoup plus bas; car au delà du 64^e, entre ce 64^e et sa moitié, ou 128^e, on rencontrait une nouvelle unité, la coudée d'aroure, le $\pi\eta\chi v\sigma$ des enregistrements grecs, le $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L.}} \text{ } \text{C.}$ des textes démotiques, représentant un 100^e d'aroure, une coudée de large, 100 coudées carrées, ou $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L.}} \text{ } \text{C.}$ (53)

Il faut remarquer qu'à la récente époque, sous les Lagides, on faisait comme on fait actuellement chez nous, c'est-à-dire qu'on calculait les terrains de ville par une des petites unités, au lieu de les calculer par les grandes unités. Chez les égyptiens la petite unité qu'on avait prise pour étalon métrique des terrains de villes était le $\pi\eta\chi v\sigma$ de 100 coudées carrées: cette coudée d'aroure $\text{C. } \underline{\text{L.}} \text{ } \text{C.}$ que nous trouvons mentionnée au nombre de 14 et plus dans les contrats; tandis que pour les biens de campagne l'unité était toujours l'aroure et ses divisions successives, c'est-à-dire: d'abord la division déduplicative, puis la division par centièmes, ou coudées d'aroure, etc.

Cette distinction ne semble pas avoir existé du temps d'Amtén, qui calcule l'étendue de sa propriété, de sa "maison," en aroures (tout en indiquant la longueur des quatre côtés en coudées), exactement comme il calcule l'étendue de ses champs en arourés (mais cette fois sans l'évaluation en coudées de côté).

Tout ceci est nécessaire pour faire comprendre les fractions déduplicatives de l'aroure que nous rencontrons dans notre papyrus bilingue.

En effet, $\frac{5}{8}$ d'aroure formaient 6,250 coudées superficielles, à ajouter aux 110,000 coudées superficielles contenues dans les 11 aroures, pour traduire en coudées la surface totale vendue par Nikon, ci: 116,250 coudées carrées.

Passons maintenant aux monnaies.

CHAP. II.—*La Question des Monnaies.*

Notre papyrus fait mention de trois sommes d'argent distinctes: la 1^{re}, de 8 dioboles et un dichalque; la 2^e, d'un triobole; la 3^e, de 4 oboles. Quant aux talents et aux milliers de drachmes qu'on rencontre dans tous les autres enregistrements grecs, il n'en est nullement question.

Pourquoi cela?

Serait-ce parce que le bien vendu serait de moindre importance? On ne saurait le supposer. C'est, avec le No. III de Wilcken, le plus grand de tous les terrains vendus dont nous parlent les papyrus démotiques et grecs.

Est-ce, au contraire, parce que la monnaie n'est pas la même, ou, pour parler plus exactement, parce que l'étalon monétaire n'est pas le même? Oui, certainement, et je dois dire que cela confirme absolument mes recherches—tranchons le mot—mes découvertes antérieures sur les monnaies égyptiennes.

J'ai établi, en effet, le premier, spécialement dans ma *Revue Egyptologique* (3^e année, p. 92 et suiv.), (54) *exclusivement d'après les textes démotiques traduits par moi*: 1^o que l'étalon monétaire avait été en Egypte, jusqu'à Philopator, l'unique étalon d'argent; 2^o que, sous Philopator, cet étalon d'argent, resté toujours principal, avait été doublé, pour ainsi dire, par un second étalon, de cuivre, avec la proportion légale de 24 *outen* de cuivre pour 2 *kati* d'argent, c'est-à-dire de 1 à 120—proportion qui est déjà indiquée dans un prêt de l'an 5 de Philopator, (55)—alors que tous les autres contrats du même règne (56) font encore exclusivement mention de monnaies d'argent; 3^o que cette possibilité des deux monnaies, en proportion légale, mais avec prédominance de l'étalon d'argent, que l'autre vient seulement remplacer, est encore indiquée sous les rois éthiopiens qui s'emparèrent de Thèbes à la mort de Philopator, et y régnèrent

20 ans ; 4° qu'Epiphane substitua définitivement, dans l'usage ordinaire, l'étalon de cuivre à l'étalon d'argent, tout en laissant la proportion légale de 24 *outen* de cuivre pour 2 *kati* d'argent, proportion qui subsista jusqu'à la fin des Lagides, et qui, spécialement stipulée pour le cuivre, servit toujours à distinguer d'une façon plus nette, en démotique, les monnaies de cuivre (57) des monnaies d'argent.

Quoi d'étonnant dès lors si les enregistrements de basse époque font toujours mention de milliers de drachmes et de talents, de cuivre, alors que les textes antérieurs ne parlent que de sommes beaucoup plus modestes, d'argent. Ces textes antérieurs à Epiphane, nous en avons plusieurs en grec même, que j'avais signalés et publiés—entre autres, le célèbre papyrus Sakkakinis, pour la première fois expliqué par moi au point de vue monétaire ; mais aucun n'était daté d'une façon précise, comme notre contrat bilingue de Philopator. C'est donc encore une confirmation éclatante de tout ce que j'ai dit.

Mais, pour me faire mieux comprendre, il faut que j'entre ici dans quelques détails sur l'ensemble de mes découvertes monétaires. Je vais d'abord résumer en quelques mots ce que j'ai longuement établi, pièces en mains, dans la seconde année de ma *Revue Egyptologique* (doublée par moi à cette occasion), et dans de nombreux articles : tant de la 3^e, de la 4^e, de la 6^e année de la même Revue, que du Congrès des Orientalistes de Berlin, de la *Revue Archéologique*, de celle de la Société de Numismatique, de la *Zeitschrift* de Lepsius, etc. Puis j'y joindrai les nouvelles découvertes faites par moi récemment et qui sont encore complètement inédites.

Ce que j'ai tout d'abord établi, ce fut l'échelle même des monnaies égyptiennes à l'époque ptolémaïque, monnaies au sujet desquelles Brugsch avait, jusque-là, multiplié les hypothèses les plus invraisemblables et les plus contradictoires. (58)

Cette échelle, confirmée par des milliers de calculs (car, nous l'avons dit déjà, on écrivait d'ordinaire en deux monnaies diverses ; par exemple, en sekel, שֵׁקֶל, et en argenteus-outen, ou en argenteus-outen et en talents,—kerker = $\sigma\iota\tau\sigma\omega\pi$ = כֶּרֶךְ,—les sommes exprimées dans les contrats, afin d'éviter les erreurs ou les altérations de chiffres),—cette échelle, dis-je, fut ainsi établie par moi :

1° Le $\frac{1}{2}$ kati, ou drachme, 20^e de l'argenteus-outen. (59)

2° Le kati = didrachme (ΚΙΤΕ = didrachmon), 10^e de l'argenteus-outen.

(comme maintenant bien d'autres) lisait si bien les sigles des monnaies inférieures à la drachme, c'était à moi que tous ils le devaient, et Wilcken a eu soin de le dire. En effet, jusqu'à moi, les hellénistes ignoraient tous la valeur de ces sigles, qu'on rencontre dans un grand nombre de papyrus grecs. La publication académique des papyrus grecs du Louvre, et toutes les autres publications antérieures à ma découverte, aux articles que j'y ai consacrés dans la *Revue Archéologique* et dans ma *Revue Egyptologique*, en font foi.

Et cependant on avait depuis longtemps une clef parfaitement suffisante dans le papyrus grec Sakkakinis que notre illustre helléniste Mr. Egger avait traduit—moins les sigles—dans une lecture faite en 1873, à l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, devant des hellénistes tels que mes vieux amis Brunet de Presle, Miller, etc.

Quant aux sigles monétaires, restées pour lui lettre morte, voici ce qu'il en disait :—

“ Les difficultés d'une telle tâche ” (le déchiffrement de notre papyrus) “ sont grandes, même pour un philologue depuis longtemps familier avec l'étude des papyrus greco-égyptiens. En effet, les signes numériques que nous présentent les papyrus de ce genre ne sont pas encore tous expliqués. Même après les efforts de Peyron, de Letronne, de Brunet de Presle, quelques-unes de ces notations restent pour nous des énigmes, d'autant plus obscures que souvent elles sont tracées avec négligence et réduites à de simples sigles . . . ”

Et plus loin :—

“ Les notations numériques que nous offre le papyrus Sakkakinis sont dignes d'une attention particulière, et pour leur forme et pour leur fréquente répétition, qui permettra un jour, je l'espère, d'en trouver la clef . . . Outre les lettres proprement dites et le signe désignant l'année, ces sigles me paraissent se ramener à huit ou neuf, dont voici la forme . . . ”

Puis, après le tableau de ces sigles monétaires, dont *pas une* ne pouvait être comprise par lui, il ajoutait :—

“ Une première conclusion qui ressort de l'examen du tableau ci-dessus, c'est que les signes numériques en question ne représentent ni des poids ni des mesures, puisqu'on en voit appliqués même à des valeurs abstraites, comme des frais de route et des journées d'ouvriers. Ils marquent donc le prix en monnaie de ces objets divers, et s'il y a *quelque chance* de les expliquer, ce doit être par une comparaison méthodique avec les signes employés sur d'autres *réglés* pour les mêmes objets.”

Malheureusement, ainsi que je le remarquais dans mon article, consacré, du vivant de M. Egger, à cette même question, article dans lequel je donnais déjà tous les extraits qu'on vient de lire, cet illustre maître n'avait pas porté sa comparaison sur les sigles analogues qui se trouvaient dans certains papyrus grecs du Louvre, publiés par lui-même auparavant — toujours sans lecture ni même copie sérieuse de ces sigles, — mais au contraire sur les chiffres relatifs à l'*étalon de cuivre*, qui n'avaient aucun rapport quelconque soit avec ces sigles, soit avec les valeurs *en argent*, notées par ces sigles.

Tout resta donc dans le même état qu'auparavant jusqu'à ce que, près de *dix ans* après Egger, il me vint à l'idée d'étudier ce problème pour compléter mes études sur les monnaies égyptiennes. Je n'eus pas de peine alors à reconnaître que ces calculs étaient pourvus de nombreuses additions régulières, qui nous donnaient la clef des sigles ; et j'en dressai le tableau suivant, dès le 1^{er} No. de la 3^e année de ma *Revue* (1883) :—

χ	Chalque $\frac{1}{8}$ d'obole, 48 ^e de la drachme.
υ	Tétartémorion ($\frac{1}{4}$ d'obole).
ς	Hémiobole.
—	Obole.
=	Diobole.
ς	Triobole.
ς—	Triobole et obole.
ς=	Triobole et diobole.

J'ajoutais : "Ces sigles se retrouvent dans les papyrus Sakkakinis, 60 bis, 62, 66, du Louvre de Paris, XXXI du British Museum, et de Leide, les papyrus du Zoïs, etc. Voici un des comptes du papyrus Sakkakinis, contemporain de l'étalon d'argent :— (65)

μεσωρή α	/ς
άρτοι	— υ
τάριχος	—
ξύλα	ς
κολοκύνθ.	ς υ
ἄλλες	υ
	/ςςυ
	/αςυ

(*Solde du compte précédent*) : 3 oboles = 60 drachmes de cuivre.

1^{er} Mesoré,

Pains,	1 obole et 1 tébartémorion = 25	„	„
Salaisons,	1 obole = 20	„	„
Bois,	1 hémi-obole = 10	„	„
Concombre,	1 hémi-obole et 1 tébart. = 15	„	„
Sel,	1 tébartémorion = 5	„	„

Total : 3 ob., 1 hémi-ob. et 1 tébart. = 75 drachmes.

ce qui fait (y compris ces 3 oboles de solde du compte précédent), 1 drachme, 1 hémi-ob., 1 tébart. = 135 drachm. de cuivre.

Dans les Nos. suivants, je publiais d'ailleurs le papyrus Sakkakinis, et je traduisais tous les autres exemples analogues des sigles monétaires. Depuis ce temps-là—et depuis ce temps-là seulement,—elles sont définitivement entrées dans la science ; et les hellénistes allemands—Wilcken en tête—s'empressèrent d'admettre toutes mes conclusions et d'en profiter. Reinach, seul, semble les ignorer actuellement dans son *Manuel d'Épigraphie* : comme Brugsch semble ignorer mes conclusions non moins certaines sur les notations démotique des monnaies égyptiennes.

Hâtons-nous de dire, du reste, que ma découverte sur les sigles grecques des monnaies inférieures à la drachme devait peu à peu me conduire à la découverte des correspondants démotiques de ces mêmes sigles.

Déjà dans les Nos. III, IV de la 4^e année de ma *Revue Égyptologique*, je publiais plusieurs bilingues donnant l'assimilation de la sigle du diobole. En voici deux :—

Ostracon 14,203 du British Museum.

ⲡⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ
 ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲓ
 3 / m λ

“ Pethor, fils de Panofré, et ses gens (ont apporté) leur diobole, prix du *χερωνάξιον* de Pharmouthi de l'an 30. A écrit Néchutès, en l'an 30, le 12 Pachons.”

Le grec porte :—

πέπτωκεν τοῦ φαρμοῦθι =

Ostrakon 58,370 du British Museum.

$\rho | \underline{\epsilon} | \iota | \sigma | \rho \epsilon \nu | \epsilon | \iota | \beta$
 $\epsilon \lambda \chi \sigma | \iota | \epsilon \nu | \sigma | \epsilon \nu | \epsilon \nu | \epsilon \nu | \epsilon \nu$
 $2 / \epsilon \lambda \chi | \iota | \epsilon \nu | \epsilon \nu$

“Xarbas, fils de Petnofréhotep, et ses gens (ont apporté) leur diobole, comme prix du χειρονάξιον en l'an 30 Pharmouthi. A écrit Nesmin, en l'an 30, Pachons 14.

Le grec porte :—

πέπτωκεν τοῦ φαρμοῦθι =

Il était clair d'après cela et d'après plusieurs autres exemples recueillis alors par moi, que le sigle du diobole était ϵ en démotique.

Mais je viens d'en avoir une confirmation éclatante dans des comptes du temps de Tahraka et d'Amasis que possède le Musée du Louvre, et qui nous donnent la série presque complète de toutes les fractions correspondant aux sigles grecques, et cela, à une époque bien antérieure à l'invasion des Grecs en Egypte, puisqu'elle remonte jusqu'aux grandes luttes des Ethiopiens et des Assyriens. Qu'on me permette d'entrer ici dans quelques détails sur cette découverte, plus importante encore peut-être que toutes mes autres découvertes monétaires, et qui nous fait assister à l'origine véritable de la monnaie grecque.

A considérer largement les choses, on est d'abord fort embarrassé pour trouver l'origine des monnaies de la Grèce ; car certaines grosses unités transportées par les besoins du commerce international se retrouvent à peu près partout, à peine modifiées, dans le monde antique.

Il en est de la Grèce des temps presque héroïques comme de notre Gaule à l'époque de Jules César et à l'époque des Francs. On sait qu'en Gaule on frappait des Philippe de Macédoine, avant l'arrivée des Romains ; et des empereurs byzantins—du moins on l'a prétendu—sous certains rois Mérovingiens. (66)

Eh bien ! dans l'Athènes de Solon et de ses prédécesseurs il en fut à peu près de même. Il est bien certain que le système moné-

—diobole qui se retrouve, avec une forme paléographiquement plus archaïque, dans un papyrus de l'an 15 de Tahraka, etc. (72)

Dans le papyrus de Tahraka on a d'ailleurs, à côté de l'argenteus-outen et du kati, et à côté du 6° de kati ou diobole, le tiers de kati (souvent mentionné aussi dans le papyrus d'Amasis), le demi-kati et le quart de kati.

Le kati était donc devenu l'unité la plus en usage, celle à la quelle se rapportaient toutes les subdivisions—parcequ'en qualité de sekel-didrachme, c'était devenu l'unité internationale. Quant à l'outen, auquel les éthiopiens ont un moment rapporté directement tout le système de leurs fractions, ce n'était plus en réalité en Egypte qu'un multiple du kati — absolument comme plus tard le talent hébréo-persan ou kerker (כֶּרֶק), emprunté au commerce international sous les Ptolémées et dont l'importation chez les grecs avec cette valeur paraît aussi d'époque relativement secondaire.

En définitive, tout le système des monnaies grecques, tel que nous le rencontrons dans les plus antiques monnaies d'Athènes, est certainement une dérivation de ce système monétaire que nous font connaître les papyrus de Tahraka et d'Amasis.

Ces vieilles monnaies d'Athènes se divisent en deux groupes.

D'abord, celles qui n'étaient marquées que d'un côté, et qui présentaient au revers un carré creux, produit par la frappe. Ce sont certainement les plus anciennes de toutes. Elles ne portent ni les initiales du nom d'Athènes, ni la tête de Pallas, ces caractéristiques des monnaies plus récentes du second groupe. On n'y rencontre pas encore ce tétradrachme qui, aux basses époques, surtout à partir du siècle d'Alexandre, deviendra à Athènes, comme en Syrie, sous les Séleucides, comme en Egypte sous les Ptolémées, et, par suite, comme à Tyr, à Sidon, en Palestine, sous les Macchabées, etc., le type principal et presque exclusif de la monnaie d'argent.

Parmi les monnaies frappées d'un seul côté, celles dont la provenance Athénienne est la plus certaine, sont :—

1° Des didrachmes et des oboles avec l'image d'un hibou.

2° Des didrachmes, des oboles et des quarts d'oboles (tetartémorion ou dichalque) portant une tête de Gorgone.

A côté de ces pièces, M. Beulé fait rentrer dans le monnayage d'Athènes, en les considérant comme plus anciennes encore, des didrachmes marqués d'un cheval, des drachmes marquées d'un demi cheval (ce qui prouve bien que le didrachme était l'unité) et, tou-

jours en remontant, des didrachmes, des drachmes, des oboles, des héli-oboles, marqués de figures géométriques semblables pour toutes ces monnaies.

Passons au second groupe, qui présente déjà, comme les monnaies les plus récentes, au droit, la tête de Pallas, mais avec un revers qui varie souvent suivant la valeur de la pièce.

On y rencontre des tétradrachmes. Mais ce qu'on y rencontre le plus souvent, sur des pièces où les initiales du nom d'Athènes sort encore *ate* — parceque les Athéniens jusqu'au commencement du IV^e siècle avant notre ère ne connaissaient ni le θ ni l' η — ce sont :—

Le didrachme et la drachme, ou demi-didrachme, ayant au revers un hibou tourné à droite ou à gauche, une branche de laurier, etc.

Le triobole, quart du didrachme, caractérisé par un hibou de face ayant les ailes fermées, "encadré à droite et à gauche," dit Beulé, "par une guirlande d'olivier."

Le tétrobole, tiers du didrachme, caractérisé par deux hibous se faisant face.

Le diobole, sixième du didrachme, caractérisé par un double hibou avec une seule tête, "symbole de la double Minerve unie en une seule divinité," dit Beulé.

L'obole, douzième du didrachme, sixième de la drachme, qui, comme la drachme et le didrachme, offre au revers un hibou tourné à droite ou à gauche.

Les monnaies d'argent plus petites ne portent plus de hibou au revers, sauf l'héli-obole.

A Athènes, la plus petite de toutes paraît avoir été le quart d'obole, tétrartémorion ou dichalque, caractérisé par un seul croissant.

L'héli-obole, qui vaut deux dichalques, est souvent caractérisé par deux croissants surmontant une chouette de face—quand il n'a pas tout simplement les mêmes emblèmes que l'obole, la drachme, le didrachme, et le tétradrachme.

Le tritartémorion, trois quarts d'obole, valant six chalques, "reconnaissable à ses trois croissants adossés," dit Beulé.

Nous devons indiquer encore deux pièces, plus rares, caractérisées l'une et l'autre par un hibou les ailes étendues, et dont l'une est un pentobole, (73) et l'autre très probablement un quart de drachme, huitième de didrachme. (74)

Il ne paraît pas que le chalque ait jamais été frappé en argent dans la ville d'Athènes. Son nom d'ailleurs signifiait "cuivre," (75) et

nous verrons que dans les notations monétaires du papyrus Sakkakinis et des autres papyrus ou textes divers de provenance égyptienne, il n'est pas figuré par une sigle comme toutes les autres monnaies divisionnaires de l'argent. On l'y exprime par son initiale χ .

En résumé, dans le système monétaire égypto-athénien, tel que nous le voyons dans les papyrus de Tahraka et d'Amasis, dans le papyrus Sakkakinis, dans une multitude de textes, soit démotiques, soit grecs, soit bilingues, se rapportant à une des époques où l'étalon d'argent était en usage, les principales monnaies sont :—

Le kati ou didrachme (et aux basses époques, son double le sekel tétradrachme ptolémaïque); (76)

Sa moitié, le demi-kati ou drachme ;

Le tiers de kati ou tétrobole ;

Le quart de kati ou tribole ;

Le sixième de kati ou diobole ;

Le douzième de kati ou obole ;

Au dessous du douzième de kati ou obole il faut nécessairement supposer aussi dans le système du papyrus d'Amasis, comme on le voit dans celui du papyrus Sakkakinis, un hémiobole, ou 24^e du kati, encore en argent, et enfin la monnaie du 48^e qu'on nomme à la basse époque *tétartémorion*, toujours par rapport à l'obole, et qui paraît avoir été l'ancien chalque égyptien et attique avant l'introduction du chalque nouveau indiqué sans sigle par un χ dans le papyrus Sakkakinis, et qui en était la moitié.

Il faut noter de plus que, comme nous avons vu les outen, sekel, kati, drachmes, et talents de cuivre établis à l'époque récente sur le même modèle et avec les mêmes poids que les unités parallèles d'argent—nous voyons aussi, et cela en remontant plus haut dans l'histoire, établir sur le même modèle que ces unités d'argent, les unités d'or. Ce système isonomique, certainement moderne sous les Lagides pour le cuivre, puisqu'il ne date que du règne de Philopator et qu'avant cela le cuivre n'était pour les Grecs—comme d'ailleurs pour les Egyptiens—nous l'avons vu dans une des notes précédentes—qu'une monnaie divisionnaire—le chalque—semblait avoir, cependant, en Egypte des origines antiques à notre vieil ami Chabas qui avait constaté beaucoup d'estimations d'objets mobiliers à l'époque pharaonique en outen de cuivre. (77) Mais, pour l'or, tout au moins, alors même qu'on admettrait pour le cuivre à certaines

périodes les conclusions de Chabas,—devenues bien problématiques depuis l'étude que nous avons faite du poids 1071 de Berlin—la non-isonomie des poids et des unités monétaires était primitivement la règle, avec une certitude incontestable, comme le prouvent certains étalons métriques de très vieille époque nouvellement acquis par le Musée de Louvre, (78) puisque les unités d'or y répondaient à des poids distincts, particuliers à l'or, et tout différents de celui de l'outen. Quoiqu'il en soit de la date exacte de son introduction, l'isonomie de l'or et de l'argent existait pleinement en Egypte sous Darius, c'est-à-dire à un moment où en Perse elle n'existait à aucun degré. (79) Nous en avons la preuve positive dans un papyrus démotique de l'an 3 de Darius, que j'ai publié dans le N° 11 de la 3^e année de ma *Revue*. Toutes les sommes y sont calculées et additionnées séparément, selon leur nature, soit en or, soit en argent, mais toujours en outen et en kati. Je renverrai particulièrement à la planche 2 de ce n°, dans laquelle on trouve 2 outen d'or et 5 kati, 4 outen d'or et 5 kati. Dans la planche précédente on a un compte d'objets évalués en outen d'or, compte qu'il faut restituer ainsi:—

“72 *Mesu d'or*, en outen d'or, 145.

6 *Reti d'or*, en outen d'or, 52, 5 kati.

Reti ia, en outen d'or, 25.

4 *heruti*, en outen d'or, 13, 5 kati.

En dehors de 1,350 outen d'argent: ce qui fait outen d'or, 236, outen d'argent, 1,350.”

Il faut donc reconnaître que déjà sous Darius l'isonomie pondérale s'était établie en Egypte entre l'argent et l'or—bien qu'elle n'existât pas encore pour le cuivre et ne dut être introduite, tant dans le calcul égyptien que dans le calcul grec, qu'à partir de Philopator. C'est, en effet, depuis Philopator seulement—c'est-à-dire depuis le règne pendant lequel fut rédigé notre contrat bilingue—que le chalque, monnaie divisionnaire du kati et de la drachme, a définitivement fait place à la drachme de cuivre.

Pour nous résumer nous dirons donc :

1° Que dans la première partie de l'histoire égyptienne, l'or, l'argent et le cuivre avaient *comme monnaies* trois étalons pondéraux différents (comme plus tard l'or et l'argent *chez* les Persans) et que ces étalons nous indiquent des proportions de valeur, qui ont pu varier, mais que nous constatons avoir été de 1 à 14 entre

(comme maintenant bien d'autres) lisait si bien les sigles des monnaies inférieures à la drachme, c'était à moi que tous ils le devaient, et Wilcken a eu soin de le dire. En effet, jusqu'à moi, les hellénistes ignoraient tous la valeur de ces sigles, qu'on rencontre dans un grand nombre de papyrus grecs. La publication académique des papyrus grecs du Louvre, et toutes les autres publications antérieures à ma découverte, aux articles que j'y ai consacrés dans la *Revue Archéologique* et dans ma *Revue Egyptologique*, en font foi.

Et cependant on avait depuis longtemps une clef parfaitement suffisante dans le papyrus grec Sakkakinis que notre illustre helléniste Mr. Egger avait traduit—moins les sigles—dans une lecture faite en 1873, à l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, devant des hellénistes tels que mes vieux amis Brunet de Presle, Miller, etc.

Quant aux sigles monétaires, restées pour lui lettre morte, voici ce qu'il en disait :—

“ Les difficultés d'une telle tâche ” (le déchiffrement de notre papyrus) “ sont grandes, même pour un philologue depuis longtemps familier avec l'étude des papyrus greco-égyptiens. En effet, les signes numériques que nous présentent les papyrus de ce genre ne sont pas encore tous expliqués. Même après les efforts de Peyron, de Lætronne, de Brunet de Presle, quelques-unes de ces notations restent pour nous des énigmes, d'autant plus obscures que souvent elles sont tracées avec négligence et réduites à de simples sigles. . . ”

Et plus loin :—

“ Les notations numériques que nous offre le papyrus Sakkakinis sont dignes d'une attention particulière, et pour leur forme et pour leur fréquente répétition, qui permettra un jour, je l'espère, d'en trouver la clef. . . Outre les lettres proprement dites et le signe désignant l'année, ces sigles me paraissent se ramener à huit ou neuf, dont voici la forme. . . . ”

Puis, après le tableau de ces sigles monétaires, dont *pas une* ne pouvait être comprise par lui, il ajoutait :—

“ Une première conclusion qui ressort de l'examen du tableau ci-dessus, c'est que les signes numériques en question ne représentent ni des poids ni des mesures, puisqu'on en voit appliqués même à des valeurs abstraites, comme des frais de route et des journées d'ouvriers. Ils marquent donc le prix en monnaie de ces objets divers, et s'il y a *quelque chance* de les expliquer, ce doit être par une comparaison méthodique avec les signes employés sur d'autres *réglés* pour les mêmes objets.”

Malheureusement, ainsi que je le remarquais dans mon article, consacré, du vivant de M. Egger, à cette même question, article dans lequel je donnais déjà tous les extraits qu'on vient de lire, cet illustre maître n'avait pas porté sa comparaison sur les sigles analogues qui se trouvaient dans certains papyrus grecs du Louvre, publiés par lui-même auparavant — toujours sans lecture ni même copie sérieuse de ces sigles, — mais au contraire sur les chiffres relatifs à l'*étalon de cuivre*, qui n'avaient aucun rapport quelconque soit avec ces sigles, soit avec les valeurs *en argent*, notées par ces sigles.

Tout resta donc dans le même état qu'auparavant jusqu'à ce que, près de *dix ans* après Egger, il me vint à l'idée d'étudier ce problème pour compléter mes études sur les monnaies égyptiennes. Je n'eus pas de peine alors à reconnaître que ces calculs étaient pourvus de nombreuses additions régulières, qui nous donnaient la clef des sigles ; et j'en dressai le tableau suivant, dès le 1^{er} No. de la 3^e année de ma *Revue* (1883) :—

χ	Chalque $\frac{1}{8}$ d'obole, 48 ^e de la drachme.
υ	Tétartémorion ($\frac{1}{4}$ d'obole).
ς	Hémiobole.
—	Obole.
=	Diobole.
ς	Triobole.
ς—	Triobole et obole.
ς=	Triobole et diobole.

J'ajoutais: "Ces sigles se retrouvent dans les papyrus Sakkakinis, 60 bis, 62, 66, du Louvre de Paris, XXXI du British Museum, et de Leide, les papyrus du Zoïs, etc. Voici un des comptes du papyrus Sakkakinis, contemporain de l'étalon d'argent :— (65)

μεσωρή à	/ς
ἄρτοι	—υ
τάριχος	—
ξύλα	ς
κολοκύνθ.	ς υ
ἄλλες	υ
	/ςςυ
	/αςυ

N.B.—The completion of PROF. REVILLOUT'S Paper, and the whole series of Notes, will be issued if possible in the next part of the Proceedings.



The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 12th January, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.

The President will continue his remarks introductory to a Translation of the Book of the Dead.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Third Meeting, 12th January, 1892.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, M. Philippe Berger:—*Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité.* Paris. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Dr. Wiedemann:—*London, Fund Alt-babylonischer Alterthümer. Aegypten, neue funde.*

From the Bonner Jahrbücher LXXXX.

From the Author, Dr. Wiedemann:—*Verzeichniss der mit Inschrift versehenen Skarabaen aus meiner Privatsammlung.* 8vo.

Der Oberpriester des Amon Neb-unen-f unter Ramses II. 8vo.

Der Oberpriester des Osiris Unn-nefer unter Ramses II. 8vo.

Eine Sarg-Inschrift aus Achmin.

Aegyptische Alterthümer im Besitze des Herrn Geheimrath Professor Dr. Neuhaeuser in Bonn. 8vo.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—*Degli Etruschi o Etehi, e delle loro migrazioni.* No. XIV. 8vo. 1891.

[No. civ.]

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, on the 1st December, 1891 :—

Rev. Frederick Finnis Grensted, M.A., Second Master, Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, Liverpool.

William Henry Bennett, Professor of Old Testament Literature, etc., Hackney, and New College, London.

Rev. W. M. Tupper, Hastings, Mich., U.S.A.

Alfred Edmund Hudd, F.S.A., Clinton House, Pembroke Road Clifton.

Thomas Hunter Boyd, 427, Wandsworth Road, S.W.

Rev. H. Reichardt, Professor Rolduc College, Holland.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting, on the 2nd February :—

Rev. Abram S. Dobbs, A.M., D.D., Fremont, Indiana, U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Lady Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate (Dr. Gaster).



The President called special attention to the exceptional value of M. P. Berger's work on the History of Writing. M. Berger is an Honorary Member of the Society, and occupied a place on the Council during the past Session.



A Paper was read by Mr. Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former remarks preliminary to his translation of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. He gave a translation, with comments, of all the titles of the chapters in the Saitic recension, which will appear in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. Gaster, F. D. Mocatta, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1891

Since the last Report submitted to the Society in January, 1891, the Society has suffered some loss in the number of Members by death and resignation. It is, however, satisfactory to be able to report that a number of new Members have been added to the Roll of Names. I have constantly urged upon the Members, and for the welfare of the Society cannot urge it too often, that the advantages we now possess could easily be much increased. A small amount of exertion used by every Member would have the desired effect. A marked increase in the number of Members would enable the Council not only to further enlarge the publications of the Society, but to increase the usefulness of the Library.

In former Reports I have several times referred to the publication of the second Part of Vol. IX of the *Transactions*, I am happy to be able to state that the Council have decided to issue this Part, and thus complete the series, during the present year. There will then remain nothing but the proposed Index Volume (Vol. X), which I have already commenced and shall complete at as early a date as the time at my disposal will allow. I may at once, however, state that to compile a satisfactory index to the nine volumes of *Transactions* is rather a serious undertaking, and I cannot at the present moment promise that it will be completed immediately.

The meeting held on the 4th of November, 1890, commenced the twenty-first session. The Society, founded in 1870, therefore reached the twenty-first year of its existence in 1891. During this period a large number of papers have been submitted at the monthly meetings; among these, as well as the many communications printed in the *Proceedings*, though not read, many have been of great value and interest. It may however be fairly stated that the communications printed during the past year have equalled those of former sessions. In commencing my report of the work done by the Society during the past year, it will be well to follow the course pursued in former years, and take each division separately. The study of Egyptology has necessarily played an important part, and I must first specially mention a series of papers by the President, which will appear in the *Proceedings* during the present session, of which notice was given at the end of the *Proceedings* for June. The Egyptian sacred text called the Book of the Dead has, from the first date at which it was known, excited a more than ordinary amount

of interest. Two complete translations only have appeared—one, made many years ago by our late President, Dr. Birch, and another in French by M. Pierret. Neither of these, it is generally admitted by Egyptologists, as well as the translators themselves, satisfactorily meet the requirements of the present time. In his introductory remarks (December) MR. RENOUF points out the difficulty attending the translation into intelligible English of this sacred book. We cannot but feel very grateful to our distinguished President for having thus promised to give to our Society the fruits of his labours—a study which has been carried on by him from his true love of the subject for many years.

The first meeting of the year, held on the 13th of January, 1891, was, as usual, devoted to the ordinary work of the anniversary, but in the *Proceedings* of that date several papers were printed. MR. F. L. GRIFFITH discussed some points of interest in the Proverbs of Ptah-Hotep; The Tomb of Rekmara at Thebes, and the Qnbt. In the *Proceedings* for April the same writer added some notes in explanation of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus; again, in May and June, The Metrology of the Medical Papyrus Ebers was considered; and I may mention that a continuation of the same subject is in type, and will be issued as early as possible. In the number for November, the first of the present session, MR. GRIFFITH continues his researches in explanation of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. In the part for December, 1891, closing the year, the same writer adds a paper on some Royal Names and Families, Ameni, Mentuhotep, and the Cartouche of the Ebers Calendar. His papers on the Rhind Papyrus gave rise to some remarks from PROF. DR. EISENLOHR (in June), who was the first to publish a facsimile of this valuable text.

The interesting series of articles from the pen of PROF. E. LEFÉBURE, to whom the Society has been much indebted during many years for his communications, has been continued: *Sur différents Mots et Noms égyptiens*, Part II, appeared in February; Part III in April; and Parts IV and V in June.

In February PROF. KARL PIEHL, in a communication entitled *Un nouveau Nom de Nombre en ancien Égyptien*, considered an interesting subject in the interpretation of texts. The same writer continued (March, April, June, and December) his valuable *Notes de Philologie Égyptien*, which cannot help being of great assistance to students.

In the "Miscellanea" of DR. WIEDEMANN, which appeared in March, several subjects of interest are brought to notice, and I can only regret that this is the only communication received from him that I have to record during the past year.

The next, following the strict order in which the various papers have been published, is that from DR. W. PLEYTE, entitled, *Les textes hiéroglyphiques sont des transcriptions des textes hiéroglyphiques*, to which was added the remarks of our esteemed President.

MR. RENOUF's first paper during the session appeared in the number of the *Proceedings* for June, in which he dealt with the tablet discovered by Mr. Wilbour at Sehel. This curious text, recording an account of the Seven Years of Famine, though evidently of late date, is of very great interest. Other papers will be noted in this Report by the same author. In the December number of the *Proceedings*, the President, in three very interesting notes, discussed The Horus Standard and Seat of Horus, A Group of Hieroglyphs, probably meaning mist or fog, and the well known sign of a bee, found over the royal cartouches. The former of these was illustrated by two plates of the various forms of the seat as represented on the sacred boat.

In the *Proceedings* for April, PROFESSOR MASPERO, to whom the Society has been so often indebted for papers, commenced the very valuable and interesting series of communications entitled, Notes au Jour le Jour. A further portion of the same series appeared in June, and I am happy to be able to state that another portion is now in type, and will be issued shortly. PROFESSOR MASPERO has, I am glad to say, kindly consented to continue these communications.

A few other shorter papers must not be omitted. One on the Sign Papyrus of Darius, by PROF. W. MAX MULLER, was printed in June, as well as one on the Verso of the Papyrus Abbot, by W. SPIEGELBERG.

This completes the list of papers dealing with the study of Egyptian Hieroglyphics; but connected with the same subject, the first portion of a long and interesting communication by PROF. E. REVILLOUT, upon some recently obtained Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, appeared in the December *Proceedings*; the second part of which is already in type, and will be issued as soon as possible. Nothing but the length of the paper has prevented it being published in a complete form in one number.

To turn to those papers bearing upon the antiquities and language of Babylonia and Assyria: It will be remembered that several of the tablets discovered at Tell-el-Amarna have been published by the Society. During the past year we have been much indebted to the REV. A. J. DELATTRE, S.J., for translations, with transliterations, of a number of these tablets. Azirou (March); Quelques lettres de Tell-el-Amarna (April); and Lettres de Tell-el-Amarna (June). I have every reason to hope that M. DELATTRE will continue the series of these very interesting inscriptions.

The REV. C. J. BALL continued, under a new title, in December, 1890, his examination of the connection between the Accadian language and that of the Chinese. Part II of Ideograms common to Accadian and Chinese appeared in the *Proceedings* for April, and Part III in June. I would call attention specially to these three papers dealing with the ideograms, which appear to me to be so carefully worked out as to leave nothing to be desired.

An interesting account of his visit to Haran in Mesopotamia was given in the May *Proceedings* by MR. W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A., the well known traveller, who also furnished some sketches from his own note book to illustrate the objects of interest. MR. B. T. A. EVETTS in the *Proceedings* for January added a note on E-anna-du.

A paper of considerable interest, and fully illustrated, by MR. ROBERT BROWN, junr., F.S.A., appeared in the *Proceedings* for March. Under the title, Remarks on the Euphratean Astronomical Names of the Signs of the Zodiac, this writer has collected a number of curious facts and references which throw considerable light on the subject.

The papers dealing with subjects not enumerated above may be well classed together, arranging them in the order of publication.

In February, the President in a communication entitled, Muhammed and the Spider, gave an interesting account of the various forms of this legend. In the same number, MR. B. T. A. EVETTS, in discussing an unpublished bronze in the British Museum, collected an amount of curious information referring to the Canephoros in Early Christian Art. Several plates of bronze figures were added in illustration.

In a very valuable and exhaustive paper in the same part (February), MISS L. MACDONALD furnished the texts, with translations, of a number of Inscriptions upon lead plates preserved in the British Museum, relating to Sorcery in Cyprus.

The REV. C. A. DE CARA, S.J., also in the same part, furnished some notes on the Rock Carvings at Iasili-Kaia, in Cappadocia.

In the Number for March, PROF. C. DE HARLEZ offers, un nouveau système de chronologie biblique, which cannot fail to interest Biblical Scholars.

MR. J. POLLARD, in April, gave an account of the Baal and Ashtoreth Altar discovered at Kanawât in Syria, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It is illustrated by three plates from photographs specially taken for MR. POLLARD, and I must not omit to mention that the Society was also indebted to him for the plates. On the same subject DR. A. S. MURRAY addressed a letter, which appeared in the *Proceedings* for May. This was followed by another (December) from MR. POLLARD, containing an extract from a letter written by MR. HAMILTON LANG.

In May, MR. A. L. LEWIS added a note to his former paper on the Exodus, which appeared in the *Proceedings* in February, 1890. DR. MX. SCHWAB, in June, continued his translations of the curious magical bowls, of which so many examples are known. His former paper is printed in the *Proceedings*, April, 1890. In June also the President, in asking the question, Who were the Libyans? furnished a number of facts going far towards the solution of the difficulty.

Still following the order of publication, the last paper I have to mention is the one with which the present session was opened. Under the title, Some Points of Resemblance between Ancient Nations of the

East and West, the REV. JAMES MARSHALL has carefully collected and arranged a large number of facts of peculiar interest and value. We shall, I think, all express the hope that he will continue his researches, and kindly favour the Society with another communication of the same character.

Thus ends the valuable series of papers which have been laid before the Society during the past year. I must, however, briefly refer to another important portion of the Society. The number of Books in the Library increases steadily. Many journals are received in exchange from kindred Institutions; many authors generously present everything they print, an example which may well be followed by others. A number of books are also purchased by the Council from the funds of the Society; the amount, however, at their disposal for this purpose is never large. It is impossible to keep pace with even the more important of the publications issued from time to time, and therefore many of the books which ought to find a place in the Library are still wanting. A list of works more especially required for the use of students is printed at the end of each part of the *Proceedings*, to which several responses have been kindly made. I cannot too often ask, that those who have spare copies of any of those given in the list, or others, will present them to the Library, and thus place them within the reach of those who otherwise perhaps would have no opportunity of consulting them.

The audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1891 have been £611 10s. 11d., and the expenditure in the like period £549 16s. 2d. The balance carried forward to the current year 1892 is £61 14s. 9d.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,
Secretary.

The Secretary's Report and audited Statement of Accounts having been submitted and accepted, the thanks of the meeting, proposed by F. D. Mocatta (*Vice-President*), and seconded by the Rev. C. J. Ball, were voted to the President; and the Secretary, the latter being proposed by the Rev. A. Löwy, and seconded by Thomas Christy, for their labour on behalf of the Society during the past year.

l'argent et l'or, et de 1 à 140 entre le cuivre et l'argent—proportions rentrant dans le même système, au point de vue mathématique. L'or et le cuivre ne se calculaient alors en outen et en kati qu'au point de vue *du poids brut et comme marchandise*, tandis que l'argent se calculait en outen et en kati, et comme *marchandise* et comme monnaie.

2° Qu'à une période intermédiaire—sous Darius certainement par exemple,—l'or et l'argent ont été isonomes en Egypte au point de vue *monétaire*, c'est-à-dire calculés d'après les mêmes poids. (80)

3° Que sous les Lagides, à partir de Philopator, les trois métaux monétaires ont été isonomes en poids, soit en qualité de monnaie, soit en qualité de marchandise—(81) comme ils l'avaient été chez les Assyriens—mais en calculant la valeur relative de l'argent au cuivre d'après une proportion *légale*, non plus de 140 à 1, mais de 120 à 1, et la valeur relative de l'or à l'argent d'après la proportion légale non plus de 14 à 1, mais de 10 à 1. La *nouvelle* proportion légale de 120 à 1 était toute indiquée par ce fait que l'*outen-argenteus* de cuivre, valant 20 drachmes de cuivre, pouvait, à l'aide de la *nouvelle* isonomie pondérale entre le cuivre et l'argent, être considérée comme une obole d'argent (6^e de la drachme, et 12^e du kati d'argent)—ce qui facilitait tous les calculs. Aussi pénétra-t-elle si bien dans les mœurs, qu'elle subsista identique à l'époque romaine et se généralisa dans le reste de l'empire. (82) Quant à la proportion de 1 à 10 entre l'argent et l'or, qui paraît avoir existé déjà dans l'empire assyrien, (83) c'était, dès l'époque persane, la proportion traditionnelle chez les Grecs d'Athènes et de l'Asie Mineure, assimilant le χρυσούς—didrachme d'or (ou darique persane d'or ou kati d'or—à 20 drachmes ou 10 didrachmes, ou 10 kati égyptiens, et c'était probablement aussi la proportion légale en Egypte dès l'époque de Darius. Tout allait ainsi à merveille dans l'échelle des monnaies ptolémaïques, en les considérant tant au point de vue grec qu'au point de vue égyptien.

Mais,—au-dessus de toutes ces conclusions de détail—nous devons revenir, en y attirant vivement l'attention, sur ce point si important de la non-isonomie de poids des trois métaux monétaires à l'ancienne époque égyptienne : c'est-à-dire sur l'existence parallèle alors des trois unités pondérales, de l'or, de l'argent, et du cuivre, considérés comme *monnaies* ; tandis qu'en même temps une seule unité pondérale—l'outen et ses fractions—existait, quand ces trois métaux, et toutes les choses capables d'être pesées, étaient considérés

comme marchandises. Il n'y a pas de meilleure démonstration pour l'existence d'une véritable monnaie, et non d'un poids servant de monnaie, dans l'antiquité la plus reculée. Le poids monnaie ne serait abstractivement soutenable en Egypte qu'à l'époque de l'isonomie, c'est-à-dire sous les Lagides, à une période pendant laquelle les monnaies frappées à la mode grecque abondent en Egypte.

En voilà assez pour donner une idée générale du système monétaire à cette époque. Il faut maintenant que nous en fassions voir les applications à notre curieux papyrus bilingue—applications qui nous ont obligé à cette longue dissertation.

Le droit de mutation perçu pour notre document est indiqué d'une façon très étrange.

τέλος ὀκτὼ διόβολους δίχαλκον.

Pourquoi donc 8 dioboles au lieu de 16 oboles? Pourquoi donc un dichalque au lieu de deux chalques?

Ceux qui ont lu avec attention ce qui précède, le comprendront facilement.

Le diobole—dont les tessères bilingues nous ont fait connaître avec certitude le correspondant démotique,—représentait dès le temps de Tahraka et d'Amasis ce sixième de kati qui était assurément l'une des unités monétaires les plus importantes, tant à l'époque ptolémaïque, où nous le voyons encore exigé par mois pour certains impôts, qu'à l'époque beaucoup plus ancienne de nos contrats archaïques. Quant au dichalque, la dernière des unités d'argent dans les monnaies connues d'Athènes, et qui dans le système antérieur, venu d'Egypte, était sans doute la plus haute monnaie de cuivre, l'ancien *χόμεν* ou chalque du poids 10,711 de Berlin, nous avons vu que dans le papyrus Sakkakinis on le considérait pour ainsi dire comme la base ou plutôt le *substratum* de tout le système métrologique, et on lui attribuait une sigle spéciale; tandis qu'on n'en accordait pas même une au chalque. Dans cet enregistrement, daté de Philopator, les quatre dioboles et le dichalque du τέλος, comme le triobole mentionné plus loin, sont des monnaies de l'étalon d'argent valant 120 fois celles de l'étalon de cuivre, qui figure pour la perception de la taxe dans les enregistrement des contrats de vente datés d'Épiphanes ou de ses successeurs.

Il nous reste à montrer dans quel rapport de proportion ces dioboles et ce dichalque se rattachent d'ailleurs aux monnaies qui servaient alors d'unités de compte pour la fixation de la taxe. C'est ce que nous ferons dans le chapitre suivant.

N.B.—The completion of PROF. REVILLOUT'S Paper, and the whole series of Notes, will be issued if possible in the next part of the Proceedings.



The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 12th January, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.

The President will continue his remarks introductory to a Translation of the Book of the Dead.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Third Meeting, 12th January, 1892.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, M. Philippe Berger:—*Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité.* Paris. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Dr. Wiedemann:—*London, Fund Alt-babylonischer Alterthümer. Aegypten, neue funde.*

From the Bonner Jahrbücher LXXXX.

From the Author, Dr. Wiedemann:—*Verzeichniss der mit Inschrift versehenen Skarabaen aus meiner Privatsammlung.* 8vo.

Der Oberpriester des Amon Neb-unen-f unter Ramses II. 8vo.

Der Oberpriester des Osiris Unn-nefer unter Ramses II. 8vo.

Eine Sarg-Inschrift aus Achmin.

Aegyptische Alterthümer im Besitze des Herrn Geheimrath Professor Dr. Neuhaeuser in Bonn. 8vo.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—*Degli Hittim o Hethei, e delle loro migrazioni.* No. XIV. 8vo. 1891.

[No. civ.]

ing illustrations that I could point out are that of a girl's head,* that of a small figure of Horus from the British Museum,† and that given in a picture to be found in the *Denkmaeler*, III, pl. 206, c. But there are many others.‡

We now come to the word *mentu*, by which M. Maspero understands the barbarians bearing this name. But this interpretation is a mere conjecture. There is nothing in the text to show that human beings, native or foreign, are intended. The word *mentu* is not necessarily connected with anything foreign. One of the Egyptian gods bore the name Mentu, the root of which is certainly Egyptian. It will be impossible to say for certain what the word means in the Pyramid texts until we find it written with an intelligible determinative, but at present (without disputing M. Maspero's rendering as a possibly correct one) I am inclined to understand *mentu* as meaning the fillets to which the *hensekit* or false lock was attached.

It ought always to be borne in mind that the crowns worn by the sovereigns were primarily divine ornaments, and that the kings only wore them as representatives of divinity. There is no reason for supposing that the imaginary kings or kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt are alluded to in the difficult passage from which I have endeavoured to dispel the false light which has been supposed to fall from it. I once more assert without fear of disproof that   never means king of Upper Egypt, or  king of Lower Egypt, and that all passages are mistranslated and misinterpreted in which these renderings occur.§ The Sun, the great king τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρὶν of the Rosetta inscription, is like the Osiris in the contemporary hieroglyphic inscriptions                                                   

divine and priestly titles which have no reference to earthly geography, and *ánw* and *kárw* refer to Heaven and that which is below Heaven.

I know of another argument which might be forthcoming in favour of *hát* as the royal title, and I have a ready answer which I reserve for the proper occasion.

I will only add that it is an error to suppose that the sign  became phonetic at a comparatively late date. It was so already in the earliest times. Rāḥotep at Gizeh is



[The Plates referred to will be issued with the next number of the *Proceedings*.—W.H.R.]



THE ACCADIAN CALENDAR.

BY HON EMMELINE PLUNKET.

Epping and Strassmaier, in their book *Astronomische aus Babylon*, have lately translated some small tablets of the Seleucian era, dated in the second century B.C. From these tablets we learn that the Babylonians of the above date possessed a very advanced knowledge of the science of astronomy. Into the question of the extent of that knowledge we need not here enter further than to say that it enabled the Babylonian astronomers to draw up almanacs for the ensuing year; almanacs in which the eclipses of the sun and moon, and the times of new and full moon were accurately noted; also the position of the planets throughout the year. These positions were indicated by the nearness of the planet in question to some star in the ecliptic, and the ecliptic was portioned off into twelve groups, coinciding very closely in position and extent, with the twelve signs of the Zodiac as we now know them.

As to the calendar or mode of reckoning the year, we find that the order and names of the twelve months were as follows:—Nisannu, Airu, Simannu, Duzu, Abu, Ululu, Tischritu, Arah-samna, Kislimu, Tebitu, Sabatu, Adaru.

Of these months Ululu and Adaru could be doubled, as Ululu Sami (the second Elul), and Adaru Arki (the last Adar). The Babylonian years were soli-lunar; that is to say, the year of twelve lunar months containing 354 days was bound to the solar year of 365 days by intercalating, as occasion required, a thirteenth month.

Out of every eleven years there were seven with twelve months, and four with thirteen months. The first day of the year being, like some of our church festivals, dependant on the time of the "new moon," was "moveable" (*schwankende*). The year, according to the tablets before Epping and Strassmaier, "*began with Nisan, and also in the spring.*"*

* "Was den Anfang des Jahres betrifft, so haben wir schon gezeigt, das die Seleucidische Aera, wie sie in unseren drei Tafeln vorliegt, ihre Jahre mit dem *Nisan*, also im Frühjahr begann."

Epping und Strassmaier; *Astronomisches aus Babylon.*, p. 181.

This is a sketch of the Babylonian calendar in the second century B.C., as drawn from the work of the two learned Germans above-named.

Now we find in the British Museum a great number of trade documents which, according to the catalogue, "cover a period of over two thousand years." "There are tablets of the time of Rim Sin, Hamurabi, and Samsu-iluna; tablets of the time of the Assyrian supremacy; tablets of the time of the Seleucidæ, and the Arsacidæ."

These documents are all dated in such and such a month of such and such a year of some king's reign; the months are the same (at first under their earlier Accadian names) as those we find in the almanacs translated by Epping and Strassmaier, and we meet in these documents, and in other historical inscriptions, with the intercalary months, the 2nd Elul, and the 2nd Adar. It would seem then that it was the same calendar worked in the same way that held its place through these 2000 years.

But further, there are astrological works copied for the library of Assurbanipal, but purporting, according to some scholars, to have been originally compiled for Sargon of Agane, whose date is placed as high as 3800 B.C.

In all these works the same calendar appears to obtain. We find in them the same year of twelve lunar months, reinforced at intervals by a thirteenth intercalated month, and in these tablets the order of the months is always the same: Nisannu (as Bar-zig-gar, Accadian) everywhere appears as "the first month," and is spoken of as "the beginning of the year."

We find on the boundary stones in the British Museum representations of several of the signs of the Zodiac: the Bull, the Tortoise (in lieu of the Crab), a female figure with wings, the Scorpion, the Archer, and the Goatfish. We also find mention of various signs in the old astrological works. Some of these signs have not yet been identified with their modern equivalents; as to the identity of others we may guess; as, for instance, when it is said "Mercury lingered in the constellation Gula," we may guess that Gula represents Aquarius, which sign in the Epping and Strassmaier tablets figures as "Gu." The Scorpion and the Goatfish are distinctly spoken of as "Girtab" and "Munaxa" in the old tablets.

From all these sources of information we gather that the twelve divisions of the ecliptic had been mapped out at the time the

astrological works were drawn up, and that some (at least) of these divisions corresponded exactly to the signs as they are now represented.

Many scholars have held that the twelve Accadian months corresponded to the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and that we may trace a resemblance in some instances between the name of the month in the old Accadian language and the sign into which the sun at that time of the year entered. The following months are those in which this resemblance is very striking:—

1st month, Bar-zig-gar (sacrifice of righteousness), Aries.

2nd month, Khar sisi (the prosperous Bull), Taurus.

3rd month (sometimes called), Kas (the Twins), Gemini.

6th month, Kigingirna (the errand of Istar), Virgo.

We know from the Epping and Strassmaier tablets that the months and the signs of the Zodiac *did* in the Seleucian era correspond with each other as above suggested, and if further research should establish the fact that they so corresponded in Sargon's time, then as we find Nisannu (Bar-zig-gar) throughout all these ages holding the place of "first month," and marking "the beginning of the year," it will necessarily follow that the Accadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian Calendar dealt with a sidereal and not a solstitial year.

Our year is a solstitial year, that is to say, according to the Julian calendar (afterward amended by Pope Gregory), our months maintain a constant relation to the *four natural* divisions of the ecliptic, *i.e.*, the solstices and the equinoxes. The winter solstice always falls on the 22nd of December, the spring equinox on the 21st of March, the summer solstice on the 21st of June, and the autumnal equinox on the 22nd of September.

But (as we have assumed) the Accadian year was a sidereal year, and its months maintained a constant relation to the *twelve artificial* divisions of the ecliptic, or as they are called the signs of the Zodiac, Nisannu always corresponded to the time the sun entered Aries; Airu, to the time he entered Taurus, and so on through the twelve signs.

The equinoctial points are however always, though slowly, changing their position amongst the twelve divisions of the ecliptic; and the months which corresponded to and clung to those divisions must have held in different ages very different positions as regards the four great divisions or seasons of the year.

We find in the Seleucian era the year "*beginning with Nisannu, and in the spring time,*" and this seems a more or less natural season from which to count the year; but when, taking the precession of the equinoxes into account, we find that the year in Hamurabi's time, (2200 B.C.) must have commenced one, and in Sargon's time (3800 B.C.) two months before the spring equinox, we feel surprised and perplexed to find that the year then began without any reference to the four great divisions of the ecliptic.

It is difficult to imagine the originators of the wonderful Accadian Calendar—a calendar so well thought out that it resisted all the shocks of time for four thousand years—it is difficult to think that such astronomers who could so skilfully map out the ecliptic into its twelve parts, should have taken no note of its four so prominent divisions, the Solstices and the Equinoxes.*

There is however a way to account for this anomaly, or rather there is a supposition which will allow these astronomers of old to have taken note not only of the months, but also of the seasons of the year when first they drew up their mighty scheme.

Let us suppose that the calendar, which in Sargon's time is alluded to as an already well known and venerated institution, was originally drawn up at a much earlier date. When Bar-zig-gar would have been the "first month," that is the first *winter* month of the year, and this date (see diagram) would have been about 6000 B.C.; at that date the sun entered Aries at the winter solstice, and the month Bar-zig-gar (or Nisannu) might well have been called "the beginning of the year."

If we suppose that at that early date the calendar was arranged by astronomers so that the year should begin at the winter solstice,

* "Il n'y a point de doute que le premier partage de l'année et du mouvement du soleil n'ait été en deux parties. Le tems où cet astre cesse de monter vers le nord, celui où il cesse de descendre vers le midi, voilà deux époques remarquables dans l'année, et une division naturelle de la course solaire. Le moment des equinoxes, l'observation de l'égalité des jours et des nuits a fourni une nouvelle division en quatre parties. Celle en douze signes n'est qu'une subdivision de celle-ci, un partage de chaque quart du cercle en trois portions, chacune de dix degrés. Cette hypothèse, déjà très naturelle par elle-même, est autorisée par la tradition. Celles de l'Asie portent qu'on divisa d'abord le zodiaque par des solstices et les equinoxes, et que ces quatre parties, trop étendues, ont été subdivisées, chacune en trois. Les Egyptiens attribuoient à Hermes plusieurs divisions successives en deux, en quatre, et en trente six parties." Bailly, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne*, Vol. III, p. 288.

and that the winter solstice was marked by the conjunction of the sun with the constellation Aries, we might describe their (the astronomers') work as the work of the Creator is described in one of the old Babylonian tablets :—

"For each of the twelve months he fixed three* stars" (or groups of stars). "From the day on which the year begins till its end."

Centuries rolled by however, and slowly the winter solstice receded from the sign Aries (see diagrams), Nisannu was no longer the first month in the sense of being the first winter month. Still the authority of the originators of the calendar held sway ; provision had been only made for counting the year as a sidereal year ; Nisannu, or the month in which the sun entered Aries, was still called the first month, and looked on as the beginning of the year.

At last after a lapse of 6000 years, when the winter solstice had moved through a quarter of the great circle of the ecliptic,† in the Seleucian era the spring equinox had arrived at the same point

* According to Diodorus "24 stars were associated with the zodiac, 12 being north and 12 south." The expression "3 stars," then evidently refers to the *star* of the zodiac and its associated "north" and "south" star. For *star* we may read "group of stars."

† This moving of the equinoctial point through a *quarter* of the great circle, may perhaps explain the tradition to which Syncellus twice alludes ; at p. 17 "Syncellus states that Eusebius was aware of the Greek opinion that long ages or rather myriads of years had passed since the beginning of the world, during the mythical moving of the zodiac through the opposite part, from the beginning of Aries back again, for the complete cycle."

And at pp. 51, 52, "the time of the zodiac's return to its original condition, according to the stories of the Greeks and Egyptians, that is, the complete cycle from one sign back again to the same sign which is the first minute(?) (second) of the first division of the equinoctial sign of the zodiac, which is called *Κριός* (Aries) by them, as has been described in the *Genica* of Hermes and in the *Cyramic* books." He goes on to say this is the ground of the chronological division of Claudius Ptolemy.

Jean Silvain Bailly, speaking of the Indian zodiac, the beginning of which is placed by the Brahmins at the first point of Aries, suggests that a similar tradition may have prevailed amongst the Indians and other ancient nations to account for the pre-eminence so generally accorded to Aries : He says, "Mais pourquoi ont-ils choisi cette constellation pour la première ? Il est évident que c'est une affaire de préjugé et de superstition ; le choix du premier point dans un cercle est arbitraire. Ils auront été décidés par quelque ancienne tradition, telle par exemple que celle que Muradi rapporte d'après Albumassar et deux anciens livres Égyptiens, où on lisoit que le monde avoit été renouvelé après le déluge lorsque le soleil

where the winter solstice had been when first the calendar makers had "fixed" the stars "for the twelve months from the day on which the year begins till its close," and we who now read the almanacs drawn up at that late Seleucian era are not (as has been said above) surprised to find the year "beginning with Nisannu and in the spring."

The propositions then contained in this paper are these :—

- I. The Accadian year was counted as a sidereal year.
- II. The Accadian calendar was first thought out and originated at a date not later than 6000 B.C.

The grounds on which these propositions rest are not all fully established as yet.

The first proposition is founded on the opinion long ago expressed by many eminent Oriental scholars, that the Accadian months corresponded in very early ages with the signs of the zodiac. If we take into account in connection with this opinion the Precession of the Equinoxes, and the facts that in the Seleucian era the months and the signs did so correspond, and that Nisannu throughout all these ages held the place of the "first month" and the beginning of the year, the first proposition finds strong support.* But even if the first proposition is granted, the second, it must be confessed, is only an opinion based on the unlikelihood that the old Accadian and sidereal year, otherwise so skilfully dealt with in the calendar, should have begun in what would appear to be a haphazard manner at no definite season of the year.

étoit au 1° du belier, Régulus étant dans le colure des solstices. D'Herbelot ne parle point de Régulus ; mais il dit que selon Abumassar les sept planetes étoient en conjonction au premier point du belier lors de la création du monde. Cette tradition, sans doute fabuleuse, qui venait des mêmes préjugés que celle de Berosé, étoit Asiatique. Elle a pu suffire, ou telle autre du même genre, pour fonder la préférence que les brames, ou les anciens en général, ont donnée à la constellation du belier, en l'établissant la première de leur zodiaque. Ils ont cru que ce point du zodiaque étoit une source de renouvellement, et ils ont dit que le zodiaque et l'année se renouvelloient au même point où le monde s'étoit régénéré." Bailly, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, pp. 482 and 483.

* In modern works we find the terms "useless," "fanciful," and "inconvenient," applied to the zodiac and its signs ; and for regulating a solstitial year the signs are "useless" and "inconvenient," but the theory that the reckoning of the year and all its religious festivals depended on the observance of the zodiacal signs, would help to account for the widely spread veneration in which they were held throughout so many ages and by so many nations.

It may seem that too much weight has been attached in this paper to what can only be called a guess; but where there is so much that we desire to know, and so little, as yet, absolutely known of the early history of astronomy, the temptation to make such guesses is great.

Modern astronomers often speak in general terms of their science as having existed in a "hoar antiquity," and in "prehistoric times;" but Jean Silvain Bailly, an eminent astronomer of the last century (though he had not the materials which we now possess in the cuneiform tablets on which to form his opinion), adduces many interesting facts in support of his belief, that the science of astronomy cannot be less than 7,000 years old—amongst other arguments, he points out and explains the calculations by which, if we understand the expression "year" to represent different astronomical cycles, and not the year of 365 days, the fabulous ages attributed by the eastern nations to their earliest dynasties of kings or gods, can all be reduced to the period of time assigned to the antediluvian patriarchs in the book of Genesis. Bailly says: "Nous avons vu que chez tous les peuples, les tems anciens, marqués par des fables et par des nombres prodigieux d'années, peuvent se reduire à l'intervalle qui sépare deux époques mémorables, celle de la création et celle du déluge. On est en droit d'en conclure que des hommes issus de la même souche, partis d'un centre commun placé dans l'Asie, ont emporté avec eux la mémoire de ces premiers tems, celle du nombres des différentes révolutions par lesquelles une astronomie perfectionnée régloit la chronologie, et qu'ensuite établis dans différentes contrées de la terre, ils ont tous commencé leur histoire par celle de leurs ancêtres communs." *

It is to their earliest heroes and to their gods that the ancient heathen nations attributed the invention of astronomy, and amongst the Jews also, according to Josephus, Seth was looked upon as being the first teacher of the science.

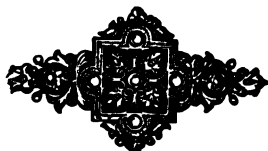
It may seem a bold suggestion to place the formation of the Calendar at a date so high as 6000 B.C., a date exceeding as it does by 2,000 years that given to us in the margin of our Bibles for the story of the fall of man and his expulsion from Eden. If, however, we adopt the calculations founded on the Septuagint version of

* Bailly, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, pp. 17, 18.

the Old Testament, we shall find ourselves led back to the same millenium in which, if our theory of the original formation of the calendar is a true one, that marvellous scientific achievement was accomplished.

To attribute to the dwellers in Eden or to their immediate descendants intellectual gifts that should enable them to perfect so grand a scheme, does certainly not contradict the story of the Fall, but rather may open up for us fresh lines of thought when we read of that transgression in which the pride of intellect played so important a part.

[The Plates illustrating the above will be issued with the next number of the Proceedings.]



UN PAPYRUS BILINGUE DU TEMPS DE PHILOPATOR.

PAR LE PROFESSEUR E. REVILLIOUT.

PART II. *

CHAP. 3—*La Question des Impôts, sur les Ventes.*

Dans notre papyrus on voit successivement trois taxes différentes. Le texte porte :—

τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τέλος ὅκτῳ διοβόλῳ διδραχμον, δωρεὰς τριῶβλον, χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀλλαγῆς τέσσαρας ὀβολοῦς.

Jusqu'à présent on n'avait rien trouvé d'analogue dans aucun des enregistrements grecs de contrats démotiques qui nous sont parvenus : non seulement quant aux chiffres—ce que nous avons expliqué dans le précédent chapitre,—mais aussi quant au nombre, et, paraît-il, à la nature même des impôts perçus.

Il faut, en effet, noter d'abord que l'impôt était unique dans tous les enregistrements, jusqu'ici connus, qui en faisaient mention.

Cet impôt sur les aliénations d'immeubles était déjà du dixième sous Psammétique I^{er}. Mais, comme nous avons eu l'occasion de l'expliquer longuement dans nos leçons de cette année sur le droit archaïque des Egyptiens, et comme nous le montrerons d'ailleurs dans le chapitre suivant, sous Psammétique, qui paraît l'avoir établi, ou laissé établir, le premier, il ne s'appliquait pas à toutes les transmissions d'immeubles, mais seulement à celles qui se faisaient en dehors de la famille originelle.

En effet, la propriété n'appartenait primitivement pas en Egypte à l'individu, mais à la famille. C'était à telle famille que tel bien avait été "confié" par tel *neter hotep*, par exemple. Aucun des membres de la famille n'avait le droit de le vendre, et quand des arrangements se faisaient—depuis Bocchoris—dans l'intérieur même de cette famille, ces arrangements, par voie d'échange, etc., avaient

* Voir *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 97.

NOTE.—Les chiffres entre parenthèses indiquent les notes, voir à la fin de l'article.

toujours le caractère d'une délégation familiale. Encore fallait-il pour qu'elle fût légale à Thèbes, sous les rois Šabaka et Tahraka, par exemple, qu'on eût fait la déclaration au prêtre d'Amon, prêtre du roi, qui pouvait seul, par son autorité, donner force exécutoire à ce contrat. Mais c'est justement cette déclaration au prêtre d'Amon, prêtre du roi, qui, peu à peu, amena une nouvelle jurisprudence. Ce haut personnage sacerdotal et judiciaire, qui décidait souverainement de la légalité des actes, en vint, sous Psammétique, à permettre, toujours sous l'ancienne forme de transmission familiale, des aliénations déguisées,—mais à la condition expresse que le temple d'Amon, seigneur de toute la contrée, et auquel appartenait la propriété éminente du sol, toucherait pour cette aliénation extra-familiale le dixième de la valeur de la chose vendue. Cette coutume acquit bientôt force de loi; et quand Amasis (84) permit directement la vente, "l'écrit pour argent," sur les immeubles, il eut bien soin de laisser percevoir pour ces ventes l'ancienne *dîme* de Psammétique, etc.

Cette dîme, nous la retrouvons encore sous les Ptolémées. Plusieurs contrats ou reçus du temps d'Evergète I^{er}, par exemple, en font expressément mention, et elle se continua sans interruption et au même taux, jusqu'au règne d'Epiphane.

Les choses alors changèrent de face.

A la mort de Philopator, l'Egypte s'était soulevée, presque en entier, contre la domination grecque. Epiphane, encore enfant, ne fut plus roi nominal qu'à Alexandrie, ainsi que je l'ai prouvé le premier dans une série de travaux. Mais bientôt ses tuteurs firent venir des troupes mercenaires de Grèce. Ils soumirent peu à peu par les armes quelques villes de la basse Egypte, entre autres, Lycopolis, et obligèrent d'autres à leur ouvrir leurs portes sans combat. Enfin en l'année 9 de son règne, ils couronnèrent solennellement à Memphis le jeune souverain, et, pour achever de gagner ceux des égyptiens qui luttèrent encore, avec les rois éthiopiens de thébaïde, ils lui firent prendre diverses mesures philanthropiques, parmi lesquelles nous trouvons mentionnée la réduction de certains impôts—ce dont le décret trilingue de Rosette lui fait son principal titre de gloire. Parmi ces impôts qu'Epiphane diminua, il faut surtout signaler ici l'impôt sur les ventes, qu'il réduisit du dixième au vingtième.

Cette réduction subsista pendant tout son règne et pendant celui de son fils Philométor. Ce fut seulement pendant le second règne d'Evergète II qu'on en revint à l'ancien taux du dixième, auquel on ne renonça plus.

Mais, est-ce à ce taux du dixième — encore en vigueur sous Philopator — que nous avons affaire en premier lieu pour notre vente? Cela me paraît peu probable, car cela nous donnerait pour nos 11 aroures $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ un prix trop bas et qui ne serait pas en chiffres ronds.

Examinons cependant.

Si l'on admettait cette première hypothèse, le prix de nos 11 aroures $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ s'élèverait à 27 drachmes et un hemi-obole d'argent : — ce qui, fait deux drachmes deux oboles par aroure, car évidemment on n'aurait pas tenu compte du dixième de tétartémorion (ou de quart d'obole) à percevoir sur l'excédant d'un total qui serait exactement ainsi de 27 drachmes et trois-quarts d'oboles.

En cuivre, avec la proportion légale de 1 à 120, le total du prix s'élèverait seulement à 3,250 drachmes, au taux de 280 drachmes par aroure. Cette estimation serait du 36^e de celle des aroures du jardin de Zoïs, et du dixième de celle des aroures vendues, à Thèbes, dans le papyrus III de Wilcken (*Actenstücke aus der Königlichen Bank zu Theben*) ; car Hermias achetait, dans ce dernier papyrus, pour 2,834 drachmes environ par aroure, le dixième d'un terrain de 28 aroures, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$, puisqu'il payait ce dixième 8,000 drachmes (un talent 2,000 drachmes). — Dans les papyrus relatifs à cette affaire, comme dans ceux de Zoïs et dans un autre du recueil de Wilcken, on avait à percevoir d'abord un droit, paraît-il, du 60^e et de plus une autre taxe du centième — analogue à la *centesima* des ventes en droit latin. Il est vrai que les ventes grecques dont il s'agit sont faites par adjudication. L'une des deux taxes représente donc certainement les frais de l'adjudication judiciaire, et l'autre, le droit de mutation. Le plus probable, c'est que le droit le plus élevé (le soixantième) est plutôt le droit de mutation. Si pourtant, on admettait l'opinion contraire et si l'on croyait que, par une raison particulière dont nous aurons à nous occuper plus loin, on ait demandé dans notre papyrus, au lieu du dixième, le droit de mutation le moins élevé possible, il faudrait, dans cet acte de Nicon, multiplier par 100 au lieu de multiplier par 10, la taxe indiquée, pour avoir le prix de vente. Cela nous donnerait pour l'aroure un prix de 270 drachmes d'argent et 5 oboles, ou, en cuivre, un prix de 2,800 drachmes — ce qui se rapproche remarquablement du prix de 2,834 drachmes par aroure qu'a payé Hermias dans le No. III de Wilcken.

Mais il me paraît plus probable, je l'ai déjà dit, que dans les papyrus en question le droit de mutation était le premier droit perçu, le plus important d'ailleurs.

Au taux d'un soixantième, chaque diobole, sixième de kati, représente 20 drachmes, c'est-à-dire un *outen* d'argent, ou en or—avec la proportion de 1 à 10 entre l'argent et l'or, que j'ai longuement établie dans mes précédentes études monétaires, pour l'époque ptolémaïque—un stratère didrachme, ou kati. Or, un papyrus de Leide, admirablement publié et commenté par Mr. Leemans, et qui, comme cet illustre maître l'a fort bien prouvé, suffirait pour établir la proportion de 1 à 10 dont nous parlions tout à l'heure, nous montre que le stratère—argenteus-outen—était l'unité monétaire d'après laquelle on calculait aussi bien l'intérêt des créances que le taux des impôts. Huit dioboles ou seize oboles font donc, au soixantième, cent soixante drachmes de capital; et quant au dichalque, ou quart d'obole, qui est encore indiqué pour notre *τέλος*, il y ajoute le quart de dix drachmes, c'est-à-dire, deux drachmes et demie, ou deux drachmes et un triobole; total du capital: 162 drachmes et un triobole. Si, en nous inspirant de la mention du change du cuivre indiqué plus loin dans notre document, nous calculons cette somme en cuivre, nous n'avons qu'à multiplier $162\frac{1}{2}$ dr. par 120, ce qui nous donne 19,500 drachmes de cuivre ou trois talents et quart, (trois talents, 1,500 drachmes) chiffre fort admissible.

En effet, d'après ce tarif, chaque aroure serait estimée à 14 drachmes d'argent, puisque 11 multipliés par 14 nous donnent 154 drachmes, auxquelles il faut ajouter 7 drachmes pour la demi-aroure = 161 drachmes. Quant au huitième d'aroure, il représente une drachme trois quarts (1 dr. 4 oboles et 1 héli-obole), ce qui ferait un total général de $162\frac{3}{4}$ drachmes. La différence avec le calcul porté sur notre texte est de une obole et demie pour le capital; mais sur ce capital d'une obole et demie on n'aurait eu à percevoir qu'un demi chalque, somme infime qui n'est représentée par aucune monnaie d'argent existante dans le monnayage de cette époque, précédemment examiné par nous, et qu'on a, à juste titre, négligée pour cette raison.

Ce simple calcul suffit pour démontrer que nous avons bien affaire à la taxe du soixantième, qui est indiquée dans les papyrus de Zoïs pour une autre vente de terre.

Dans les papyrus de Zoïs, si bien publiés et commentés par Peyron, le prix de vente de chaque aroure a été de 85 drachmes d'argent (9,660 drachmes de cuivre), puisque le total en cuivre est de 64,000 drachmes (20 talents et 4,000 drachmes) pour 6 aroures $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$, (total exact à 2 drachmes et demie de cuivre près, payées cette

fois en plus). C'est, pour chaque aroure, environ le sextuple du prix de notre terrain. Mais il faut remarquer que les champs vendus ici ne sont que des champs situés en Thébaïde—tandis que dans les papyrus de Zoïs, il s'agit de jardins situés dans une des deux capitales effectives des Lagides, dans la grande ville de Memphis. Il y a certes, maintenant, plus de différence que cela entre la valeur des champs de Bretagne et celle des jardins de Paris.

Dans les papyrus de Zoïs, il est question d'un autre droit (du centième), pour les frais de l'adjudication publique par autorité de justice. Ce droit n'avait pas à être perçu pour une vente à l'amiable comme celle dont nous nous occupons.

Il nous reste à savoir pourquoi, dans les deux aliénations en question, et dans celles qu'a publiées Wilcken, le droit de mutation a été du soixantième, au lieu d'être du dixième, (ou à certains moments du vingtième), comme dans toutes les autres aliénations connues.

Après notre bilingue, on ne peut plus songer à voir dans le soixantième un privilège de Memphis—et cela, d'autant moins d'ailleurs que, comme je l'avais déjà démontré le premier, les Memphites payaient le même taux que les Thébains dans les ventes ordinaires : c'est-à-dire le vingtième, quand les Thébains payaient le vingtième, etc. (85) Ici, encore une fois, il s'agit d'un bien de Thébaïde, dans une région où le dixième avait toujours été jusque-là perçu, sans interruption, depuis Psammétique I^{er}.

Mais alors, d'où venait ce privilège exorbitant ? Était-il donc permis aux employés du fisc de réduire, quand ils le voulaient, au soixantième, un impôt qui normalement était du dixième ?

Evidemment, on ne peut songer à une pareille hypothèse, et pour expliquer cette anomalie apparente, cette ἀτέλεια, comme disent les papyrus, (86) nous sommes obligés d'avoir recours à une toute autre idée.

Je ferai d'abord remarquer que le vendeur est ici un Grec, et que c'est à une vente entre grecs que nous avons affaire dans les papyrus de Zoïs, dans ceux qu'a publiés Wilcken. Ne serait ce pas la clef de ce problème ?

Les papyrus nous ont appris que les Grecs, déjà tant protégés par Amasis,—qui, selon la chronique démotique que j'ai publiée, leur avait donné une grande partie des biens de *Neterhotep*—avaient, depuis la conquête d'Alexandre surtout, une situation très favorisée en Egypte. J'ai depuis longtemps publié plusieurs papyrus très significatifs à ce sujet ; entre autres, un document relatif aux biens

de *neterhotep* du dieu Hormen que "les Grecs," c'est-à-dire sans doute la colonie militaire grecque de Thèbes, affermaient à des égyptiens. Dans un autre papyrus, grec cette fois, et que j'ai publié le premier, il est question de terres, dont un *helleno-memphite* (*sic*), faisait la déclaration.

Je pourrais citer bien d'autres pièces de ce genre qui paraissent prouver des *concessions* de terres faites originairement aux conquérants macédoniens par l'autorité royale, comme nous en avons fait en Algérie à nos colons. Ce mot même de *concession* me semble être celui qui traduit le mieux le mot *ἐωρεά* qu'on trouve dans notre papyrus, comme dans deux tablettes bilingues depuis longtemps publiées par moi (*Revue Egyptologique*, II, II, pl. 52 et suivants), tablettes dont une a été même reproduite à nouveau dans le chapitre précédent. Les variantes τῆς ἐωρεᾶς τῆς γῆς, ou τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐωρεᾶς, que l'on rencontre dans les deux copies de l'une de ces tablettes, s'expliquent tout naturellement par "la concession de terre" ou "la terre de concession," surtout quand on voit l'auteur de ces tablettes, les appliquer à la concession de terre nécessaire pour un tombeau d'ibis sacré. N'est ce pas le terme même dont nous nous servons actuellement encore en cas pareil pour les terres de cimetières? Mais n'est ce pas aussi le mot dont nous nous servons pour les concessions, les donations de terres faites par l'état à des colons, etc.? En somme, il me semble extrêmement probable que les Lagides avaient accordé aux Grecs épigones des privilèges particuliers, en même temps que les terrains qu'ils leurs concédaient.

Sans doute, quand, pour droit de mutation des aliénations, les égyptiens payaient par argenteus-outen, ou statère, un kati, ou didrachme, les Grecs payaient un diobole, ou sixième de kati. Et c'est ainsi que s'explique tout naturellement cette expression "8 dioboles" (au lieu de 16 oboles) qui nous avait tant étonné au début de cette étude.

Seulement, sous Philopator, qui, d'après le décret même de Rosette, comme d'après tous les documents contemporains, avait augmenté, le plus qu'il l'avait pu, tous les impôts—ce qui amena aussitôt après sa mort la révolution dont nous avons parlé plus haut—on exigea des Grecs, en outre du droit de mutation d'un sixième de kati ou diobole par uten-argenteus ou statere, un second droit, dit *ἐωρεᾶς*, "pour la concession," qui paraît un droit fixe (un triobole).

Nous en arrivons maintenant à la troisième taxe : celle qui était appelée χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀλλάγης. Cette taxe s'élevait ici au quart du droit

de mutation (moins un demi-chalque, ce qui, nous l'avons déjà dit, n'aurait pas pu s'exprimer dans les monnaies d'argent contemporaines, et ce qui se négligeait toujours, nous l'avons vu également).

Il faut noter que cette taxe n'est plus exprimée en dioboles, mais en oboles : *τέσσαρας ὀβολοῦς*. La raison en est bien simple : il ne s'agissait plus de la calculer d'après le *capital* selon le tarif d'un diobole (6° de kati) par outen-statère, mais d'après le droit de mutation antérieurement perçu, et qui dans notre texte s'élevait à 8 dioboles et un dichalque. Il devenait dès lors naturel de suivre les unités grecques les plus ordinaires et de dire : le quart de 8 dioboles est de 4 oboles : *τέσσαρας ὀβολοῦς*.

Ce prix de change paraît tout d'abord exorbitant. Mais il est bon de remarquer qu'il ne s'appliquait pas au change seul. En effet, dans la formule *χαλκ. η α, η* n'est point l'article, puisque, comme on le voit pour *ἐωρεῖς*, les substantifs doivent ici se mettre au génitif : *η* est donc la particule *ἡ* "ou." Mais pourquoi distingue-t-on ainsi le prix du cuivre et celui du change, alors qu'en définitive le change était du cuivre en argent ? Pour comprendre ce petit mystère il nous faut nous référer à une des circulaires administratives du Musée du Louvre—d'époque de beaucoup postérieure à notre contrat—qui fixe le tarif de ce qu'on devait exiger pour le change, soit du montant du droit de mutation des ventes, soit des autres impôts analogues dont le *τέλος* devait être perçu en argent par le roi.

Pour ce passage de la 5° colonne de ce papyrus 62 de la publication académique, nous sommes obligés d'avoir recours, non à cette publication, mais au texte donné par nous dans la *Revue Egyptologique* (3° année, N° I, pl. 8, et N° III, p. 82) ; car, d'une part, les savants éditeurs primitifs, les vénérés Brunet de Presle et Egger, ne connaissant pas la valeur des notations monétaires grecques, avaient donné à ce sujet des leçons fort défectueuses, et, d'une autre part, ils s'étaient souvent trompé dans ce papyrus, écrit en magnifiques onciales, tant pour la lecture des mots des plus clairs, comme *ζυτηρῶς*, que pour les restitutions à faire aux mots abrégés ou incomplets, pour la coupe et la ponctuation des phrases, parfois intelligibles chez eux et ne permettant aucune traduction possible. Les lecteurs de ma *Revue Egyptologique* savent combien d'autres papyrus de la publication académique ont dû être, par moi, rétablis en leur entier — sans que pour cela je me croie plus fort helléniste que mes chers maîtres (87) déjà nommés, et sans que j'aie le sentiment de satisfaction un peu naïf du jeune Reinach corrigeant quelques

leçons de mon papyrus d'Hypéride. Tous ceux qui ont longtemps travaillé par eux-mêmes connaissent, en effet, la difficulté d'une édition *princeps*, et les erreurs inévitables qui s'y trouvent toujours.

Voici ce qu'il faut lire dans le passage :—

τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον ὠνῶν προσδιαγράψουσιν ἀλ(λ)αγὴν ὡς τῆς μνᾶς
 ι = c, καὶ καταγώγιον ς, καὶ τιμὴν σπυρίδων καὶ τᾶλλα ἀνηλώματα αςc,
 ὥστ' εἶναι ιβς. καὶ τῶν πρὸς χαλκὸν ἰσόνομον(ον), ζυτῆρας μὲν, χωρὶς τῆς
 ὑποκειμένης εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν ἐραχυμῆς, α καὶ εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον ἄλλας β,
 ὥστ' εἶναι γ. Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ὠνῶν τῶν πρ(ὸς χαλκὸν ἰσόνομον), χωρὶς
 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ χειρισμοῦ δ (88) καὶ εἰς τιμὴν σπυρίδων καὶ τᾶλλα
 ἀνηλώματα (ὥστ' εἶναι)

Ainsi le papyrus 62 distingue les ὠναὶ πρὸς ἀργύριον et les ὠναὶ πρὸς χαλκὸν ἰσόνομον.

Pour les premières le prix de change était par mine (par 100 drachmes) de 10 drachmes deux oboles et un hémiobole. Mais il fallait ajouter à ce taux un triobole pour le καταγώγιον, c'est-à-dire pour les frais de transport du cuivre—métal assez lourd—et une drachme, un triobole et un hémiobole pour les paniers “σπυρίδων,” destinés à recevoir le cuivre, et les autres frais, ce qui faisait, ajoute le papyrus, 12 drachmes et un triobole.

L'addition est parfaitement exacte, et aurait pu suffire pour faire connaître une bonne partie des sigles monétaires, bien avant la découverte du papyrus Sakkakinis. Dans cette addition, c'est le total évidemment que la circulaire avait surtout en vue ; car les chiffres de détail, $2 \frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{15}$ pour cent pour le change, etc., paraissent assez étranges. Le total, lui, est d'un huitième, chiffre en somme fort admissible.

Quant aux taxes perçues pour les ὠναὶ πρὸς χαλκὸν ἰσόνομον, c'est-à-dire payables en cuivre *isonome* sans aucune espèce de change, elles se divisent en deux catégories : 1° celle de la bière, “ζυτῆρας,” qui est en tout de trois pour cent, trois drachmes par mine, comprenant la garde “ἐπισκευή,” estimée une drachme, le transport “καταγώγιον,” et les autres frais, estimés deux drachmes ; (il faut remarquer que le total de trois pour cent est encore un chiffre rond, puisqu'évidemment les frais réels étaient les mêmes pour le cuivre dépendant d'un change que pour le cuivre *isonome*, c'est-à-dire pour lequel on n'avait pas de change à faire : or, après le change du cuivre en argent, on exigeait seulement 2 drachmes et un hémiobole pour les frais divers qu'on estimait 3 drachmes pour le cuivre *isonome*

de ζυτηρά;) 2° les autres taxes payables en cuivre isonome. Malheureusement pour celles-ci on en est réduit aux hypothèses : dans tous les cas nous voyons qu'elles se décomposaient en χειρισμός ou frais de *maniement*, et peut-être de transport du cuivre, en prix des paniers, τιμή σπυρίδων, et en autres frais.

Par les détails que nous venons de donner il est facile de voir quelle valeur il faut attribuer à χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀλλαγῆς. Cette expression est absolument différente de celle de χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀλλαγή, "le prix du change," et non moins différente aussi de χαλκοῦ οὐ ἀλλαγή qu'on rencontre dans un grand nombre de papyrus grecs, et spécialement dans un papyrus relatif au rendement des impôts comparé dans les années 12 de Philometor et 7 d'Evergète II (papyrus N° 67 de la publication académique), restitué par moi en entier dans le N° III de la 3^e année de ma *Revue Egyptologique*, p. 114, et suiv. Dans ce papyrus le cuivre dont le change χαλκός οὐ ἀλλαγή, c'est-à-dire dont le change en argent est à faire selon les règlements administratifs, est toujours opposé au cuivre isonome χαλκός ἰσονόμος, c'est-à-dire pour lequel on n'exigeait pas le change en argent. Ce papyrus vient donc commenter, pour ainsi dire, le passage de la circulaire administrative que nous venons de reproduire. Leur comparaison prouve que χαλκοῦ οὐ ἀλλαγή ne se rapportait pas à la nature du cuivre, qui en lui-même aurait dû être changé ou non, comme on l'a parfois supposé, mais à la nature des impôts, pour lesquels le roi exigeait ou n'exigeait pas un change en argent à l'époque de l'étalon de cuivre.

Quant à la locution χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀλλαγῆς, elle ne se rapporte pas à une distinction semblable entre les impôts, car tous les impôts étaient encore sous Philopator payables en argent. Le roi venait seulement de *permettre* aux particuliers Egyptiens de payer en cuivre les sommes qu'ils devaient à d'autres particuliers, et pour cela il avait établi un second étalon, l'étalon de cuivre, à côté de l'étalon d'argent, et fixé, évidemment d'après le cours actuel, la proportion légale de 1 à 120 entre l'argent et le cuivre—les nouvelles drachmes de cuivre et les anciennes drachmes d'argent. Mais penser qu'il ait poussé la grandeur d'âme jusqu'à permettre de le payer lui-même en cuivre, ce serait aller beaucoup trop loin. Non ! Philopator, qui avait ruiné l'Égypte tant par ses expéditions guerrières que par son luxe et ses prodigalités excessives, Philopator, qui avait fait fuir le numéraire d'argent loin de la vallée du Nil, prétendait cependant qu'on en trouvât toujours pour lui. Du reste, si l'on n'en avait pas

trouvé, ce roi philanthrope voulait bien en procurer lui-même à ses sujets pour leur permettre de payer leurs impôts. Seulement, en ce cas, il demandait pour cela des droits énormes, s'élevant au double de ce que demanderont plus tard les enfants d'Epiphane, c'est-à-dire au quart, au lieu du huitième.

Mais, pour arriver à ce beau total, les taxes étaient aussi multiples sans doute du temps de Philopator que du temps des enfants d'Epiphane.

χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀλλαγῆς répond évidemment aux différents articles que stipule la circulaire administrative citée plus haut. Le mot χαλκοῦ, "du cuivre," désigne tout ce qui se rapporte au καταγώγιον, c'est-à-dire au transport de ce cuivre, aux paniers, τιμὴ σπυρίδων, devant le renfermer, et aux autres frais, ἀνηλώματα, parmi lesquels il faut comprendre les droits de garde, ἐπισκευή, de maniement, χειρισμός, etc.

On voit que les agents des finances ptolémaïques s'entendaient à faire gonfler la note des pauvres habitants de la vallée du Nil, au moins aussi bien que nos plus habiles usuriers modernes.

Il est vrai que dans l'espèce le Grec épigone auteur de l'acte n'avait pas encore trop à se plaindre, puisqu'au lieu du dixième exigé pour les ventes de la part des Egyptiens de race, il ne payait comme droit de mutation qu'un soixantième, auquel soixantième il lui fallait seulement ajouter un quart du dit soixantième pour le change et les frais du cuivre, et un droit fixe d'un triobole pour la concession "δωρεᾶς," c'est-à-dire, pour la permission que lui accordait le roi de vendre à d'autres un bien "de concession," c'est-à-dire, concédé par le conquérant à sa famille.

Ce droit fixe n'était, du reste, pas à percevoir quand un grec épigone, au lieu de vendre un bien de concession, vendait un bien personnellement acquis déjà par lui ou ses ayant cause. En cas pareil le 60^e était seul à percevoir (avec les droits relatifs au cuivre et au change) s'il s'agissait d'une vente à l'amiable, et on n'avait à y joindre que les frais d'adjudication s'il s'agissait d'une vente publique, comme dans la vente de jardin dont il est question dans le papyrus de Zoïs.

Mais ici vient une objection importante.

Comment se fait-il qu'entre la date de notre contrat de Philopator et celle du papyrus de Zoïs, nous ayons une vente, faite également par un Grec sur des biens de *neter-hotep*, vente pour laquelle on a perçu, au lieu de la taxe du 60^e, la taxe du 20^e, c'est-à-dire, celle-là

même qu'on exigeait alors des contractants égyptiens de race? Cette vente de l'an 6 de Philométor a été publiée par moi dans ma nouvelle *Chrestomathie démotique*, p. 134, et suiv. Elle a un enregistrement *démotique* portant très nettement ce taux du 20^e ρ|ε|ς — ζυλ, "la part du 20^e de l'écrit (du contrat), écrit ci-dessus." D'où vient cette nouvelle anomalie?

Oh! pour moi, la chose est bien simple.

Le contrat en question est un contrat Thébain. Or, Thèbes, soulevée à la mort de Philopator, et qui avait eu successivement les deux rois Harmachis et Anchmachis, avait été soumise de vive force vingt ans après son soulèvement. Polybe nous apprend qu'Epiphane avait été alors très dur, et qu'il avait montré un aussi complet manque de bonne foi et de fidélité aux paroles jurées d'une capitulation que quand il s'était agi, dix ans plus tôt, de la capitulation de Lycopolis. Les Thébains avaient été traités en insurgés et châtiés comme tels—non seulement pour le passé, mais en quelque sorte pour l'avenir; car on se défiait d'eux. On leur avait enlevé tous les anciens privilèges, et on les avait soumis au gouvernement militaire d'un vice-roi—l'épistratège de Thébaïde. Les Grecs de la Haute Egypte pâtirent eux-mêmes comme les autres Égyptiens; car on leur reprochait la faiblesse avec laquelle ils s'étaient laissés reléguer en Nubie, au delà de Syène, lors du soulèvement général qui avait accueilli la nouvelle de la mort de Philopator. Ils perdirent donc, du coup, leur ancien droit de ne payer qu'un soixantième au lieu d'un dixième,—un triobole, sixième de kati, au lieu d'un kati, par outen-statère,—et furent assimilés aux autres habitants de la Thébaïde. Les Héliéno-Memphites, pour nous servir de l'expression d'un de nos papyrus, gardèrent, au contraire, leurs privilèges, et particulièrement celui de ne payer qu'un soixantième, ainsi que le prouve le papyrus de Zoïs.

Il va sans dire, du reste, que quand on exigea d'abord le vingtième, puis le dixième, des Grecs de Thébaïde comme des autres Égyptiens, on supprima en même temps pour eux la taxe relative "à la concession," et on ne leur laissa, en dehors du droit de mutation, que les droits relatifs au cuivre et au change. Ces droits ne sont généralement pas indiqués sur les enregistrements mentionnant la taxe du vingtième ou du dixième; mais c'est que le cuivre exigé pour ces enregistrements est alors un χαλκός ὅν ἀλλαγή, c'est-à-dire un cuivre dont le change *doit être payé à part* (89)—à moins, ce-

pendant, qu'on n'admette qu'Epiphane ait encore supprimé le prix du change, c'est-à-dire permis de payer le vingtième en cuivre isonome, lors du décret de Rosette, c'est-à-dire au moment où il voulait, par une apparence de philanthropie, gagner la moitié de l'Egypte qui lui résistait encore et où il venait de réduire pour cela le dixième au vingtième.

Dans tous les cas, cette philanthropie ne tint pas devant le succès, comme durent s'en apercevoir les Grecs épigones de Thébaïde.

Mais heureusement pour eux, à Epiphane succéda l'un des meilleurs souverains qu'ait eus l'Egypte, Ptolémée Philométor, qui, une fois débarrassé d'Antiochus et des compétitions de son propre frère, s'attacha à régler toutes choses dans l'intérêt du pays et de ses sujets, par trop exploités. Ce fut dans ce sentiment que Philométor arracha les malheureux Egyptiens aux caprices des fermiers d'impôts, en ordonnant qu'aucune taxe ne serait perçue qu'à la banque royale, après estimation du publicain, vérifiée par un contrôleur, etc. Le même sentiment de bienveillance le fit revenir, autant que possible, sur les décrets tyranniques qui opprimaient la Thébaïde depuis la conquête d'Epiphane; et plusieurs des papyrus publiés par Wilcken nous prouvent que les Grecs de Thébaïde furent dès lors traités, à peu près, comme les helléno-memphites. Les papyrus en question sont des adjudications de terres, soit cultivables, soit à bâtir, en Thébaïde: et deux d'entre eux (Nos. I et III) font mention expresse des droits du soixantième et du centième payés par des acheteurs grecs, Aelouros et Hermias. Or, ces terres étaient mises en vente par le fisc, au bénéfice du fisc. Nous ignorons à quelle occasion la colline achetée par Aelouros, au milieu de ses terres à blé, avait été vendue. Mais il n'en est pas de même pour les champs cultivés, achetés par Hermias. Cette terre à blé était ἀδεσπότης, sans maître, quoique inscrite sur le cadastre au nom de Phibis, fils de Psemmis, et de Semminis. Ces contribuables n'avaient pas payé leurs impôts, et l'état avait saisi leurs champs, qu'il faisait vendre, en spécifiant qu'outre le capital et les droits de vente (du soixantième et du centième), l'acheteur aurait à payer les impôts en retard, τὰ καθήκοντα τέλη διπλά.

Bien entendu, quand l'état faisait ainsi vendre des biens devenus siens, les droits de mutation et d'enchère étaient complètement à payer par l'acheteur, et non par le vendeur. Il en était tout différemment quand il s'agissait, des deux parts, de particuliers. C'était

le vendeur qui avait reçu l'argent, le prix complet exigé par le droit civil égyptien pour tout "écrit pour argent," c'est-à-dire pour tout contrat égyptien de vente. C'était donc à lui à payer le dixième de cette somme totale. Aussi plusieurs contrats nous disent-ils, dès le temps de Darius, que le vendeur a reçu le prix complet en dehors du dixième à donner aux agents du roi pour le *netep hotep* d'Amon. Cela indiquait que l'acheteur avait gardé ce dixième pour le donner au percepteur, et n'avait remis, en conséquence, que les $\frac{9}{10}$ au vendeur. Cette coutume devint de plus en plus générale : et les reçus trapézitaires de basse époque nous apprennent que l'acheteur a payé la taxe. Cela se comprend facilement ; car si le vendeur était principalement obligé à payer le dixième de ce qu'il avait reçu, l'acheteur devenait en quelque sorte son répondant, puisque s'il n'était pas payé c'était entre les mains de l'acheteur que l'état faisait saisir le domaine, implicitement hypothéqué par son droit supérieur. Il arrivait donc tout naturellement que l'acheteur, en payant le prix, en gardait entre mains la part proportionnelle réservée au droit de mutation, part qu'il allait solder lui-même pour éviter un oubli du vendeur si éminemment préjudiciable pour lui. C'est à cause des obligations :—principale,—du vendeur, pour le droit de mutation, et,

secondaire,—de l'acheteur, répondant, que notre papyrus de Nicon se sert des expressions *τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τέλει* ;—tandis que dans les circulaires administratives officielles, il était ordonné de ne pas même mentionner le nom de l'acquéreur dans certaines estimations vérifiées par le contrôleur. Le principe était, en effet, que l'acquéreur n'existait comme tel pour l'état qu'après la vente et les droits payés.

Mais tout ceci rentre dans mon prochain chapitre, et, si j'en ai dit quelques mots ici, c'est pour expliquer comment dans notre acte le droit était réduit au soixantième, alors que le vendeur seul était grec. C'était ce vendeur seul dont on avait à tenir compte pour fixer la taxe.

N.B.—Part III of this communication will appear in the next number of the *Proceedings*.—W. H. R.

NOTES DE PHILOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)*

61. Passage du Papyrus Anastasi IV ; 62. Le groupe  ; 63. Nouvelle valeur du signe  ; 64. Le groupe  ; 65.  =  66. Le groupe .

61. Le texte, provenant du Papyrus Anastasi No. IV, que M. MASPERO vient d'expliquer dans les *Proceedings*,† appartient au nombre des documents hiératiques dont, à mon avis, on est encore loin de saisir toute la portée. Je tiens particulièrement à relever cette dernière circonstance, notre savant confrère n'ayant nulle part, dans sa traduction, introduit le point d'interrogation dont en égyptologie on a tant besoin, et cette omission pouvant faire croire aux néophytes de la science que le savant français nous aurait donné, dans ce cas, une traduction définitive.

En examinant le même texte, j'ai cru devoir m'écarter sur plusieurs points de l'avis de M. MASPERO,‡ tout en reconnaissant qu'en un nombre de cas je me considère actuellement comme incapable de prononcer une opinion assurée, mes matériaux étant insuffisants à cet effet.

Voici quelques points du dit texte où je crois devoir soutenir un avis différent de celui de mon dernier dévancier :

* Voir *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, page 59.

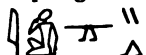
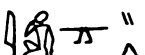
† Vol. XIII, pages 410-427.

‡ Je ne veux point par là blamer l'article de M. MASPERO qui en certains cas contient des appréciations que je regarde comme très heureuses.

Pl. 12, l. 6 :



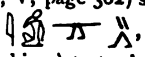
ce que je traduis :
 "il n'y a point d'hommes pour mouler la brique, il n'y a point de paille dans le district. Que sont devenus mes convois de provisions? Les ânes, ne les ont-ils pas gâtés?"†

Dans le groupe , que M. MASPERO a coupé en deux, je vois une forme du mot , dont GOODWIN,‡ avec sa finesse habituelle, a déterminé le sens interrogatif. La même variante de ce mot se voit un peu plus loin dans notre texte, où l'on trouve :  "Que sont devenues leurs dattes? *Mâ fisch!* Ils ne portent pas de fruits" (ligne 9).

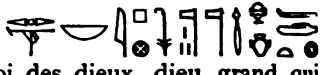
A partir de la planche XIII, ligne 1 (, etc.), je voudrais traduire de la sorte : "A la bonne heure [*litt.* : accordé]! N'ai-je pas le petit chien du scribe royal *Māhihou*, qui reste avec moi à la maison et qui me sauve des autres chiens, à quelque moment que je sorte! Il est avec moi, me conduisant, sur le chemin. Il n'a qu'à mordre (les autres), pour que je me lance, brandissant le gourdin (?) et la courbache parmi tous les chiens-loups, qui (se montrent) lâches, la queue entre les jambes. Le soir, il pénètre dans l'étable des bœufs, en mettant le plus grand (des bœufs) à la tête des autres, sans faire de distinction

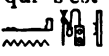
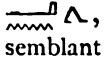
* Il y a ici réellement . Cfr., par exemple, la manière dont, à la même ligne, s'écrit le mot .

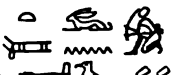
† CHABAS (*Recherches sur la XIX^e dynastie*, p. 19) : "Les ânes ne consomment-ils pas?"

‡ *Zeitschrift*, 1868, page 6. BRUGSCH (*Wörterbuch*, V, page 362) s'est rendu partisan de l'acception que nous soutenons pour le mot , mais plus tard (*l.l.* VII, page 1027), il abandonne cette acception, bien à tort selon nous.

§ Encore ici, M. MASPERO a coupé notre groupe en deux.

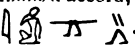
entre les jambes." Cfr. à ce sujet:  * "Amsi, seigneur d'Ap, roi des dieux, dieu grand qui réside à Edfou, beau de face, à la barbe longue,"  "celui dont la vie dure longtemps, dont la royauté se prolonge."† Le sens que nous avons proposé pour l'expression  est corroboré par l'adjectif  \ qui précède et signifie, non pas "le rouge," mais "le lâche" (c'est-à-dire la notion "rouge" prise en sens moral).

La suite de notre texte est également consacrée à l'éloge du petit chien du basilikogrammate Māhihou. Comme il est dit, entre autres, que le petit chien en question *le soir* mène les troupeaux dans leurs parcs, il me semble par là (comme par d'autres raisons aussi) peu probable que l'expression  (Pl. XIII, l. 1) signifie "au milieu du sommeil." Je la traduirais plutôt "pour le divertissement, pour (me) distraire." Notre auteur attribue d'ailleurs au petit chien des qualités, dont Dieu est la source, et il finit en exaltant les mérites par la citation d'un dicton égyptien: "Le feu qui s'est établi, ne recule point." Le mot "reculer" s'écrit ici , ce que j'ai cru devoir corriger en  Λ, les signes hiératiques, correspondant à  et Λ, se ressemblant beaucoup, dans les papyrus de la XIX^e dynastie, époque d'où date notre document.‡

62. Dans une note antérieure, § j'ai étudié le rôle du mot , quand il entre dans certains composés. À cette occasion, j'ai commis une erreur, en voulant expliquer le composé  d'une autre manière que, par exemple, celui de .

* PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*. Seconde Série. Pl. L, ligne 1.

† PIEHL, *loc. cit.*, Pl. LXXVIII, ligne 5.

‡ ERMAN (*Aegypten*, page 171) a partiellement traduit et paraphrasé notre texte. Sur un point nous tombons d'accord, là où M. MASPERO a une autre opinion. J'entends le sens du groupe  Λ. Mais je ne vois pas, comment mon savant ami de Berlin est arrivé à trouver mention de deux chiens, dans notre texte.

§ *Proceedings*, XIII, page 359.

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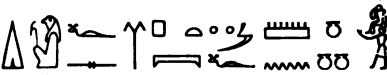
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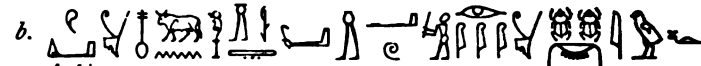
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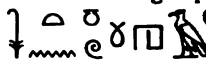
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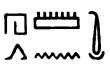
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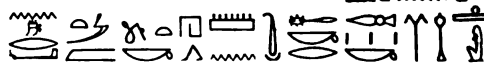
texte parallèle donne ceci: "Horus d'Edfou, dieu grand, seigneur du ciel"  "qui se manifeste dans le ciel, qui contemple son monument."*

b.  "qu'il lui accorde victoire, puissance, d'être fort, de soigner les intérêts des deux pays, étant roi du Midi et du Nord."†

66. Au Papyrus Harris No. 1, nous rencontrons un groupe  dans les expressions suivantes  BIRCH l'a traduit "garments." BRUGSCH l'explique comme "Name einer besonderen Art von Byssusgewändern."

Je considère notre mot comme étant d'origine sémitique, et en effet, l'extérieur n'en peut guère être dit égyptien.

Les textes ptolémaïques d'Edfou, nous présentent un verbe  qui jusqu'ici est resté inaperçu par les lexicographes et qui me paraît donner l'étymologie du groupe .

En voici un exemple:  "Ton costume a été fabriqué, tes ornements ont été travaillés ou artistiquement exécutés par Hethotep."‡ Si mon acception est juste  δ serait étymologiquement un "habillement élégamment fait."

N'étant pas sémitiste de profession, j'ai cru pouvoir m'adresser à un jeune savant d'Upsal, M. KARL ZETTERSTÉEN, qui s'adonne

* DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, I, CX, ligne 5.

† DÜMICHEN, *ibid.*, CX, ligne 7. J'accepte les conclusions de M. I. E. PAGE RENOUF (*Proceedings*, XIV, p. 23) concernant le sens du groupe  Cfr. d'ailleurs PIEHL, dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1887, pages 40, 41.

‡ *Loc. laud.*, XIV, a 11.

§ *Ibid.*, LXIII, b 2.

¹ NAVILLE, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus*, VII, ligne 1.

sérieusement aux langues sémitiques, pour avoir des éclaircissements concernant la matière. Il m'a appris qu'il existe une racine sémitique, ayant le sens de "etwas mit der rechten Hand machen, kunstgerecht, richtig verfertigen," etc., qui a été conservée à l'hébreu , , et qui d'ailleurs* a été représentée par la plupart des autres langues sémitiques. Je crois que cette racine fournit une bonne explication du mot égyptien  et de son dérivé                      

27 NOV 1964

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[illegible]



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



ABOUT 6000 B.C.



ABOUT 4000 B.C.

THE ACCADIAN CALENDAR.



ABOUT 2000 B.C.



ABOUT — A.D.

THE ACCADIAN CALENDAR.

1. *What is the main purpose of the study?*
 2. *What are the research objectives?*
 3. *What is the research methodology?*
 4. *What are the findings of the study?*
 5. *What are the conclusions of the study?*
 6. *What are the limitations of the study?*
 7. *What are the implications of the study?*
 8. *What are the future research directions?*
 9. *What are the contributions of the study?*
 10. *What are the key words of the study?*

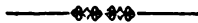
PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Fourth Meeting, 2nd February, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From Jos. Offord, Junr.:—Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth nach dem Wortlaut einer altägyptischen Felsen-Inscription. Von Heinrich Brugsch. Leipzig. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author, Gioacchino Gambino Bagnasco:—Americæ Retectio Atlas: Monography. Palermo. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J.:—Degli Hittim o Hethi, e delle loro migrazioni. No. XV. 8vo. 1892.

Civiltà Cattolica, Serie XV. Quad. 997.

From the Publishers, Samuel Bagster and Sons:—Records of the Past. Vol. V. Edited by A. H. Sayce. London. 8vo. 1892.

[No. cv.]

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 12th January, 1892 :—

Rev. Abram S. Dobbs, A.M., D.D., Fremont, Indiana, U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Lady Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate (Dr. Gaster).

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next meeting, 1st March, 1892 :—

A. W. Valentine Richards, Fern Lea, Low Harrogate.

J. Hunt Cooke (Editor of the *London Freeman*), 60, Coolhurst Road, Crouch End, N.



A Paper was read by Mr. Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead, being a translation with commentary of the 1st Chapter, which will appear in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, J. Offord, Junr., E. Towry Whyte, and the President.



The Rev. C. J. Ball read a paper entitled, "Glimpses of Babylonian Religion."

Remarks were added by the Rev. J. Marshall, Rev. A. Löwy, and the Rev. C. J. Ball.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.



GLIMPSES OF BABYLONIAN RELIGION.

BY REV. C. J. BALL.

1. *Human Sacrifices.*

Some years have elapsed since M. Joachim Ménant affirmed that the evidence of some of the seals, figured and described in his important work *La Glyptique Orientale*, pointed to the prevalence of these dreadful rites in old Babylonia. A less acute observer might, indeed, have failed to read the indications in this special sense; but there can, I think, be little doubt that the French scholar was right in his interpretation of the somewhat obscure and ambiguous representations in which he recognized this intention (*see Glypt. Orient.*, p. 152, fig. 95). Recently, M. Ménant has again expressed the same views in the introduction to his description of the De Clercq collection of Babylonian antiquities (*Collection De Clercq*, Introd., p. 18; Tom. II, Pl. VII, pp. 20, 30 *bis*; also Pl. XVIII, No. 167; Pl. XIX, Nos. 176-182). Dr. Tiele also states that "human sacrifices had not yet entirely gone out of use," although no direct proofs of such rites "have hitherto been found in the cuneiform literature" (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, Vol. II, p. 548; Gotha, 1888).

Dr. Sayce writes that "we find no allusions in the inscriptions of the historical period to human sacrifice" (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 78). But he adds: "That human sacrifices, however, were known as far back as the Accadian era, is shown by a bilingual text (K. 5139) which enjoins the *abgal*, or 'chief prophet,' to declare that the father must give the life of his child for the sin of his own soul, the child's head for his head, the child's neck for his neck, the child's breast for his breast. The text not only proves that the idea of vicarious punishment was already conceived of; it also proves that the sacrifice of children was a Babylonian institution."

The text referred to is published 4 R. 26, No. 6. It is written legibly enough, on a small fragment of a tablet, which I have recently examined. But, unhappily, it supplies no evidence at all

of the kind we are seeking. The following is a transcription of the Accadian, with the interlinear Assyrian version :—

nun-mē gu-nam-min-de
 ana abkalli issi-ma
 lal (?) ni-sag-illa nam-lu-gallu-kid
 urišu našū ša ameluti
 lal (?) zia-ni-ku ban-sum
 uriša ana napišti-šu ittadin
 sag-lal (?) sag-lu-ku ban-sum
 ʔakʔad uriši ana ʔakʔad ameli ittadin
 gu-lal (?) gu-lu-ku ban-sum
 kišad uriši ana kišad ameli ittadin
 gaba-lal (?) gaba-lu-ku ban-sum
 irti uriši ana irti ameli ittadin

"To the Sage he spake, and
 The fatling,† the uplifter of man,
 The fatling for his life he gave (or, put),
 The head of the fatling for the head of a man he gave,
 The neck of the fatling for the neck of a man he gave,
 The breast of the fatling for the breast of a man he gave."*

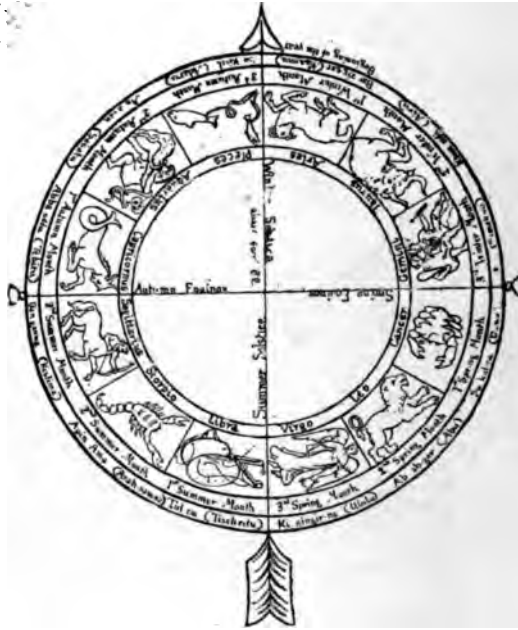
* It is certain that NUN-ME means "wise," "cunning," "skilled," and similar ideas. It is an epithet of Bilgi, the Fire-god, the skilful artist, in a well-known hymn, 4 R. 14, No. 2, Rev., 6. It occurs in the expression NUN-ME *nikiłāti*, shrewd in devices, 1 R. 35, No. 2, 3, and in the compound NUN-ME-ŠUM, a synonym of NUN-ME, as Dr. Sayce himself has pointed out (*Z.K.*, 402, sq.), which is explained to mean "deep," "skilled," "deft," "wise," "artist," etc. (*imku, ippišu, mūdū, mar ummāni*). See Brünnow, Nos. 2651, sqq.

The Chinese character *shing*, "wise," appears to be a modification of NUN-ME-ŠUM; while the words NUM, NUN, "wise," and ŠUM, "deep," "cunning," have survived in the Chinese *nīm, nien*, "thoughtful," and *shūm, shūn*, "deep," "crafty," "learned" (= older *shīm*).

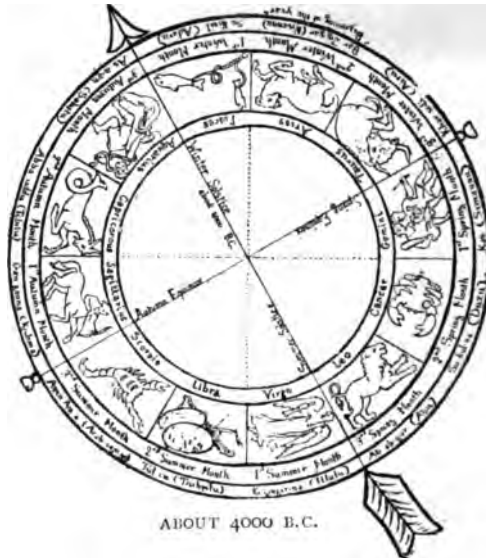
† The Accadian 𒌒, LAL (*cf. lalū*, one of its Assyrian equivalents), is well known to denote "property" and "cattle" (*ʔibtu, bālu*), like the Greek *κτῆνος*, and our own related terms "chattel" and "cattle." The Assyrian interlinear version of our text renders it 𒌒 𒌒 𒌒 𒌒, *u-ri-šu*. Looking under the root 𒌒 in Castell, I find 𒌒 𒌒 𒌒 *haedus pinguis et distentus* et *carpendo pabulo idoneus*; 𒌒 𒌒 *caper*; and Lane gives 𒌒 𒌒 "a male goat, a year old, that has cropped the pastures and grown strong"; with a reference to 𒌒 𒌒 as used in a like sense. Freitag confirms this. The Assyrian form exactly corresponds to these Arabic terms; so that it is perfectly clear that this text relates to animal and not to human sacrifice.

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ABOUT 6000 B.C.



ABOUT 4000 B.C.

THE ACCADIAN CALENDAR.

important elements in Babylonian religion is thus revealed. As surely as the original Latin of the Liturgy points to a period when the language and political system of Europe were different from those at present prevailing, so the bilingual form of these monuments of a remoter past indicates the derived and dependent nature of Assyrio-Babylonian religion. It was as natural for the rude tribes who, in the primitive period, must have poured from their aboriginal seats in Arabian wilds into the fertile plains of the Midriverland, to adapt their own simple notions of religion to the more developed beliefs of the comparatively civilised people whom they found in possession, and over whom they gradually established their supremacy, as for Israel in Canaan to imitate and adopt so many of the religious customs of the conquered and surrounding races.

If in our documents we find much that appears childish in thought and expression, we must remember the immense antiquity of its source. The tendency of research is to push back the beginnings of Accadian civilisation into an ever-retreating past. External usages and ritual formulas were handed down as a sacred tradition within the priestly classes; and the last thing that would be thought of, under such conditions, would be to innovate upon the established routine of public worship.

Babylonian religion was perfectly logical within the circle of its ruling ideas. Here, as elsewhere, it was believed that the gods in some way ate of the sacrifices. A sacrifice was, in fact, a banquet to which the deity was invited by his worshipper.* Hence the formal invitation, so strange, so grotesque to our ears, chanted, no doubt, by the priest, before the image, bidding the god and his divine fellow-guests to duly wash their hands before the meal. You may read it in a brief bilingual text given in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (4 R. 13, No. 2). In the case of small fragments of inscribed tablets like this one (K. 5202), the absence of context is often the chief obstacle in the way of ascertaining the precise import of the text. But once we have chanced upon a clue, the meaning of the whole shines out with the clearness of certainty. (Cf. Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.*, p. 487.)

shu-zu shu-laġġi shu-zu dugga

qatika misi qatika ubbib

dingir dil-dil-ini shu-nini shu-laġġa, shu-nini dugga

ilani talimuka qatishunu linsu, qatishunu lubbibu

hanshur-illa-ta kush-il ni-kur!
ina pashshuri illi akalu illu akul

lutu TI-SHI-KAK dugga A illa ta nag-ab
ina karpati TI-SHI-KAK ellitim mē illūti shiti

di lugall du dingirra-na gishtug-zu ġia
ana din sharri abil ilishu lu uzunka

In English :

*"Wash thine hands, cleanse thine hands !
 Let the gods thy brethren wash their hands,
 cleanse their hands !
 In a pure dish eat thou pure food ;
 In a pure chalice drink pure water !
 To the cause of the king, the son of his god, be thine
 ear (attentive) !"*

The sense so far is obviously complete, though the remaining half dozen lines of the tablet are too mutilated for connected translation.

What a striking instance of the longevity of religious usage is afforded by comparison of this relic of primitive worship with what we read of Pharisaic punctilio in the second Gospel (Mark vii, 2, *sqq.*)! The ceremonial ablutions of worshippers are here presumed to be practised by the Deity himself ; in a spirit not, perhaps, essentially different from that which led the pious Rabbis of a younger age to affirm that the Divine Author of the Mosaic Law spends a certain number of hours daily in the study of it.

The last line recalls the frequent petitions of the Psalms : "Judge me, Jahvah!" "Plead my cause!"; while the idea of the king being the son of the god whom he worships is too familiar to need illustration.

Did the unknown writers of such ancient invocations believe that the unseen deities partook of the offerings in some super-sensual way? Were the gods imagined to feast on the invisible counterparts or doubles of the material good things which were piled upon their altars or holy tables? * It would seem so ; for we cannot reasonably

* That an altar was a holy table, and that the two expressions are immemorial synonyms, is clear from passages like Ezek. xli, 22 ; xliv, 16 ; Mal. i, 7, 11, 12.

acquiesce in the fashionable hypothesis of the last century, that religion began with the vulgar trickery of a venal priesthood; nor can we without gross anachronism ascribe abuses which arose in the decline of faith, such as those satirized in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, or the Jewish stories of Bel and the Dragon, to the earlier times of unquestioning belief. And now let us refer to another remarkable document published in the same work. This will supply further illustration of the extent to which Assyrio-Babylonian religion was a survival of archaic ideas, in some of its features presenting a startling contrast to the splendid material civilisation of its environment.

In the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (Pl. 25 = K. 63) we have a ritual text of great importance, from which, in spite of serious gaps at the beginning and end of the tablet, we may gather something, perhaps much, that bears upon our subject. (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 527-530). The text opens with an Accadian hymn in praise of a sacred ship; not a mythological vessel, but such doubtless as those of the gods Merodach and Nebo, which Nebuchadnezzar describes as richly adorned with precious stones. (India House Inscription, col. 3. 10, 71 *sqq.*; 4. 1 *sqq.* See Dr. Winckler's version in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* Berlin, 1890.)

" Its deck (?) above is Meluchchan ; *

Its oars seven with seven † lions of the desert hold ;

Its cable (*or*, helm ?) within the god Dur-dur fasteneth.

The ship's sides are cedar from its forest ;

Their sheathing is wood of the female palms of Dilmun,

That yield abundance.

Within it gladness beameth,

(*Or*, Its heart gladness brighteneth ;)

Its cabin, its deckhouse, awe (?) the heart (by their splendour).

The ship god Ea fated ;

The goddess Ningalnunna duly finished ; and

God Mardug a good name called ;

The Lord of the Deep, the mariner of Eridu, and

The god NIN-SHI-NAGAR-GID, the great Craftsman of Heaven,

* Built like a Meluchcha-man (*Meluchchitu*).

† *I.e.*, seven on each side, probably.

With their pure hands duly finished.
 O ship, before thee may plenty go !
 O ship, behind thee may pleasure go !
 In thine heart may heart-gladness make (thee) gay (?)."

It is easy to understand that such words might be sung or recited by the priestly persons who bore the sacred vessel in solemn procession on festival days. But what is specially noteworthy in relation to our subject is, that the building of the sacred bark is assigned not to the human artist whose handiwork it really was, but to several divine beings, and among them "the great craftsman of heaven."

After this hymn of the Ship, there follows (Col. II) what in spite of the mutilation of the tablet, and fractures noted by the Assyrian scribe as already existing in his Babylonian copy, we recognize as a set of rubrical directions for the due investiture and consecration of a new image.

The first lines, which probably related to the making of the image, have unhappily disappeared. The seventh opens with the ideogram "cedar-wood;" the next with the direction, "He shall pour (a libation) on the sixth day" About half of the eleventh line remains. It reads: "Out of the temple of Borsippa the tablet (?) he shall take, and" Then, in the twelfth and following lines, we have :

"His hand the dark * stuff, the light stuff, the gray † stuff
 Shall bind on ; and the AB-ŠAR garment he shall bind on, which
 is ready (?) ;
 Fragrant herbs and meal he shall scatter, the best spirits he shall
 pour out."

At the beginning of lines 15-17 the scribe notes 'a rect~~fracture~~' (*hibi eššu*).

" . . . the cunning artist of the god his creator again shall go,
 . . . (when) he hath fixed‡ the god upon a low (?) throne. §
 . . . cloth thou shalt take, and in the great|| bason

* Kan-meda ; cf. 𒀭 𒀭 and 𒀭 𒀭 which prove that KA⁻ "dark," was an Accadian word. In l. 20 below we have the synonym 𒀭 𒀭. With meda, mīda, cf. mud, mig, mug, "dark."

† Assyrian *putikku* ; cf. 𒀭 𒀭 "parti-coloured," "speckled," Zech. i. —

‡ Or, made ready, finished. Root either 𐤍𐤍𐤏 (*Syr.*) or *qatū*.

§ Or, a hrone of *šahhū* cloth.

|| Correcting text from l. 37 *infra*.

Thou shalt set it : again fragrant herbs (or cypress) and pulse
 Thou shalt scatter ; the oil thou shalt stop ; the best spirits
 thou shalt pour out and set on (the altar ? cf. l. 37) ;
 The cunning artist with his left hand the dark stuff, the light stuff,
 The gray stuff shall cut out ; with his left hand the *massi* garment
 shall cut out ;
 . . . his hand the tamarisk wood shall cut out,
 (And) dipping (his hand in water) he shall say : 'The god Gushkin
 banda,
 Even Ea, it was that made the cunning artist ;
 I made him not !' And the workman that made the great wooden
 tablet*
 Shall dip his hand in water and say : 'The god Nin-SHĪ-nagar-gid,
 Even Ea, it was who made the workman ;
 I made him not !' At sunset (in) the garden
 [recent fracture] to Bel ; his throne thou shalt cover with its cloth ;
 The great tablet in the garden thou shalt set up ; at sunrise
 On the bank of the river, a grassy place, pure water draw ; three
 knots
 For Ea, Shamash and Merodach thou shalt tie ;
 One knot for this god (the new-made statue) thou shalt tie ;
 Dates, wheaten meal for sprinkling, honey, butter thou shalt place ;
 Make splendid, make rich, (thine offerings) ! Three libations to
 Bel, Shamash, and Merodach pour,
 One libation to this god pour ; best spirits pour out, and
 Set on abundance.† The great bason take up, and into the great
 bason
 Cedar, cypress (?), tamarisk, the herb *mashtakal*, a palm sapling,

Column III.

The reed *shalalu*, honey, butter, oil, good oil, thou shalt put ;
 The lustral water, which thou didst set for the god, thou shalt
 take, and lift up and down(?),
 And dipping (thy hands therein) shalt say :

* Probably inscribed with the titles of the god.

† LA = *lalā*, fullness, plenty. The verb seems to be *tukīn*, imperative shaphel of *kānu*. (So l. 19 above.) Or should we read *tuk-kin*, *tuk-lī-en* ?

THE SPELL.*

To-day the god is made, the bright *askar* is finished,
 The god shines forth in all the lands,
 With splendour exalted, with lordship adorned, in apparel†
 perfect (cf. Ps. l, 2; xciii, 1);
 With majesty he is begirt, (his) form shoots forth terror.
 The great sword flashes, the *askar* brightly shines forth.
 In heaven he is made, on earth he is made,
 This *askar* among the hosts of heaven and earth is made.
 This *askar* came out of the forest of *Hashur*-trees: ‡
 The *askar*, the work of heaven,§ man did make;||
 The *askar* is finished, is duly wrought,¶
 Which by the craft of Gushkinbanda was made.
 This *askar*, without (his) mouth being opened, taketh not
 refreshment;
 Food he eateth not, water he drinketh not."

The last two lines are really the key to the whole. The *askaru* must have been a statue, and not a mere symbol, for it has a mouth, and is supposed to eat and drink.** But what is meant by the phrase, "without his mouth being opened," in the Assyrian version "without the opening of the mouth?" Four lines are lost at the end of Col. III, but Col. IV may solve the puzzle. It may be rendered thus:

(Having taken some sacred vessel, some divine personage)

"pure water therein did bring:

The god Nin-zadim, the Great Carver of heaven,

* Dr. Jensen has given a version and analysis of this piece, *Z.A.*, 2, 78, sqq.

† Or, head-dress, cf. *apāru*, to cover; and 𐎶𐎶𐎵 (1 Kings xx, 38, 41, *Sept.*) and 𐎶𐎶𐎵 indutus est, 𐎶𐎶𐎵 cidaris.

‡ The symbol or image was made out of hashur wood.

§ NI-DIM DIMMA, *binūt ili* (or *šamī*). DIMMA=I-DIM, Chinese *tiên*, heaven, God. NI-DIM is, of course, a substantive, meaning "what is made," "a work."

|| *I.e.*, the image was really of divine origin, though made by human hand: *vid. sup.*, Col. II.

¶ *Assyr.* The *askar* in completion was duly finished. *Takniṭu* and *ukann* (Col. IV) are both from 𐎶𐎶𐎵, which means to form, fabricate, produce, as in Hebrew (Deut. xxxii, 6; Prov. viii, 22).

** The *askaru* cannot, therefore, have meant simply the figure of the crescent moon (Neumondsichel). It is also the symbol of the new god (Nannarus?).

With his pure hands wrought thee :
 Ea to his glorious place did bring thee,
 To his glorious place did bring thee :
 With his bright hands did bring thee :
 With honey (and) butter did bring thee :
 Charmed water into thy mouth he poured,
 Thy mouth with magic he opened."

The next line (55) gives, apparently, merely the first words of further formulas to be repeated by the officiating priests: "Like heaven," *etc.*; "Like earth," *etc.*; "Like mid-heaven," *etc.*; "The evil tongue," *etc.* The rest of the tablet is too much broken to be of use to us at present.

"The great craftsman of heaven," who made the sacred ship (Col. I), reappears in Col. II as making the human artist. The god Gushkin-banda (Ea) makes the image (Col. II†), because he made its maker (Col. II).

It is clear from Col. IV that the Divine Being represented by the new statue is held to be brought into connection with it by the agency of the same great god Ea, the Creator of Man. And the meaning of the last lines of Col. III is that the new image, and the god whom it represents, cannot partake of the sacrifices and offerings until his mouth has been mystically opened by the proper rites.* The "pure water" and the "honey and butter" directed to be set or prepared for the new image (lines 34, 40, *supra*) are assumed in the Spell or Hymn to be applied by divine hands. These rites are attributed to Ea, because, according to the ideas of the whole piece, what is done on earth is done in heaven.†

Here, then, we have the answer that heathenism makes to the biting sarcasms of the Hebrew prophets and psalmists. It, too, is conscious—in its way—that idols, 'the work of men's hands, wood and stone, neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell' (Deut. iv, 28). But, in the first place, the earthly symbol is the counterpart of something heavenly ('In heaven he is made, on earth he is made; this *askar* among the hosts of heaven and earth is made'); in

* This shows that JENSEN is mistaken in supposing that 'das Schiff des I'a' is here in question (*Kosmologie*, p. 352, *sq.*, n. 1).

† Mr. P. R. Reed, a member of this Society, kindly informs me that the common clay images of Hindu gods are not regarded as holy, until they have been washed by a Brahman in the sacred river.

the second place, man, the maker of the symbol, is himself a creature of heaven, and, therefore, an instrument rather than an agent in the matter; and lastly, heathenism has faith in the efficacy of rites, duly observed, to annihilate the seemingly insuperable difficulties of sense. In those rites the gods themselves cooperate, and to the gods all things are possible.

Like so much else in the lower systems of religion, this faith evinces a certain apprehension of eternal truths.

N.B.—The Plate illustrating this Paper will be issued with the next number of the *Proceedings*.

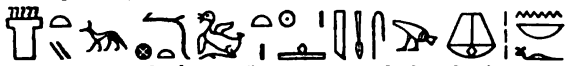


AN AMBASSADOR ROYAL OF RAMESES THE GREAT.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

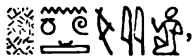
Mr. C. Davies Sherborn has in his possession the lower portion of an Egyptian statue, which, when complete, represented a high dignitary of the court of Rameses II, sitting in a chair. This interesting monument was dug up in the neighbourhood of Norwood, in the county of Surrey, and we are not without hope that the missing portion may still be recovered.

The figure holds upon its knees, between its two hands, a large cartouche containing the name of the Great Rameses,  *Rā-messu Amen-meri*.

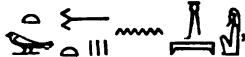
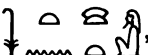
Below this we are informed that the statue is that of the  "High Judge and Prefect Rāhotep,* director of the festivals of his Lord [the King]."

We next have the important notice that he was  , "Ambassador Royal to the land of Chetta."

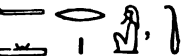
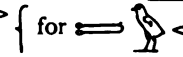
The treaty between Rameses II and the King of Chetta was signed in the twenty-first year of Rameses, and it is stated that the envoys of the King of Chetta, whose names are mentioned, were presented to the Egyptian sovereign by his own ambassador. The name of the latter has unfortunately been destroyed.

The name of Rāhotep's son, who 'made to live again his father's name,' is written on a narrow column which has suffered injury, and I can only copy it as , (?) *nnu-meri*. His duties lay in the , 'House of Life,' a part of the great Temple of Ptah.

* Not only this name but all the others are followed by the qualification of  *maat-heru*, which does not necessarily imply that the person was dead when the monument was made, but that the monument was meant to be a memorial of the man when dead.

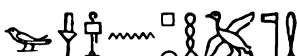
On the right side of the chair his mother  "President of the college of the chorists of Anheru," is named , *Suten Hat*.

On the left side is pictured his sister, President of the college of the  of the god *Hersefit*, , *Hunrei*.

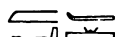
The name is not an infrequent one at this period. It is formed like  *Urenrei*,  *Anrei*  *Tunrei* and several others. These forms, which at first sight are puzzling, are probably to be explained like  for the earlier . In support of this explanation I would refer to the forms ,  and  for .

On the back of the statue two personages are represented kneeling before a table of offerings, which stands between them.

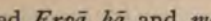
One of these is "his brother, the first prophet of Aman,  *Amsu-mesu*."

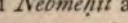
The other is his father the  "Great Craftsman of Ptah" (that is the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis) *Pa-nutâr-hen*." The words  *em hotep*, 'in peace,' are added to  *maât heru*.

The name and date of one of these high priests of Memphis are of great importance. The succession and genealogy of these great ecclesiastics if completed would be as valuable for chronology as that of the kings. The importance of this has already been pointed out by Schiaparelli and Brugsch.

We already know of a high priest of Memphis bearing the name of  *Pa-nutâr-hen*, who on a small obelisk at Florence is called the son of  *Māhu*. But an earlier date had been assigned him on account of an inscription on the base of a statue of

one of his predecessors, the High Priest Ptah-mes, whose name he "makes to live." Ptahmes was the son of the *Mer-nut-t'at*, 'High Judge and Prefect' *Thutames* and of the lady *Tauu*, and he lived in the earlier part of the eighteenth dynasty. Pa-nutâr-ben was probably a descendant but not a contemporary.

There is a statue at the Louvre (A. 72) of *Pa-nutâr-hen* who is called . He is clad in his official priestly costume, and wears the panther's skin. The lock, which is one of the insignia of his office, is attached to his head. He is here associated with another personage  *Hora*, who is called *Erpâ hâ* and *mer-nut-fat*. And an inscription now at the Museum of Gizeh connects *Hora* as the Sam and High Priest of Ptah with Ptahmes.

The name of *Pa-nutâr-hen*, High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, also occurs on a tablet of the British Museum (796) in conjunction with that of the *Mer-nut-t'at* Râ-hotep. There is but little doubt that it is the same man, though the other names on this tablet are not mentioned on the statue. One of these names is that of the High Priest of Ptah * *Tātāāa*, whom Schiaparelli† identifies with one called *Nebmehit* as well as *Tātāāa* on a small figure in the Turin Museum. It was by no means uncommon for even great personages to have several names.

* It is worth while calling attention to the numerous names ending in  *aa* (or, as I should write it, *ae*). This termination is a suffix equivalent in sense, though not phonetically, to ,  and .

† *Museo Archaeologico di Firenze*, p. 202. The notes of Schiaparelli on Ptahmes and his connections are most interesting.



A BABYLONIAN DEED OF SALE.

BY REV. C. J. BALL.

Last month I published under the above title a copy of a tablet in my collection. The interest of this document will be evident to those who possess Dr. F. E. Peiser's *Babylonische Verträge* (Berlin, 1890), a copy of which has just (Feb. 3) come into my hands. (See especially Nos. XCIV, CXVII, in Peiser's work = Brit. Mus. 84. 2-11. 103; 84. 2-11. 254.)

The tablet is well preserved, only the last two or three characters of the first line being much defaced. Mr. Pinches thinks that the remaining traces indicate   , GISH-SAR GISHIMMAR (?). The first ideogram, GISH-SAR (= *kirû*), is fairly certain; of the last, GISHIMMAR, little more than the determinative prefix remains, but the character occurs in this place in other tablets of this class.*

The text relates to the sale of a field, or of the crop of grain and dates standing upon it. The seller is Bel-edhir, the buyer Mardug-nasir-abil, whose own land abuts on the north side of the field.

The difficulty of extracting a satisfactory sense from legal documents is perhaps not peculiar to those left us by the old Babylonians. I should hardly have ventured upon the attempt in this instance, had not Professor Jules Oppert previously solved the riddle of the measures of capacity which meet us so often in this class of deeds (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, I, 87, *sqq.* See also *Un acte de vente, etc.*, *Z.K.*, I, 45, *sqq.*, by the same author).

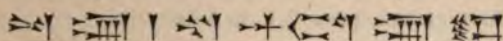
The length of the tablet is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the breadth about $2\frac{1}{4}$. The longer sides are adorned with seals, thus :



* The plate in *Proceedings*, January, should be corrected from this.

The symbol of the crescent moon, before which the two men, presumably the two principals in the transaction of which the tablet is the legal instrument, are lifting up their hands in attestation of good faith (Gen. xiv, 22; Ex. vi, 8), is suggestive in relation to that verse in the psalm, where the moon is called "the Faithful Witness in Heaven;" probably an ancient title of the moon-god, used by the psalmist for the sake of poetic ornament (Ps. lxxxix, 37).

Above the seals, on both sides of the tablet, is written :



The seal of Arad-Mardug, the scribe.*

On the short ends appear impressions of the (thumb) nail (*cuþru*) of Bel-edhir, as stated in the text (l. 45).

TRANSLATION.

- i. One gur, one sixth, seed-corn of the field, the plot of the palm-orchard,
(And) the trunks of productive trees, before the Ishtar-gate,
(In the) district of Babylon, by the old lock of the Cutha canal.

Upper end, north, side of Mardug-nasir-abil

5. Son of Itti-Mardug-baladhu son of Egibi

Buyer of the field :

Lower end, south, side of Nabu-ukin-zir

Son of Ibna son of Nur-Sin :

Upper frontage, west, bank of the Sippara canal.

10. Lower frontage east, side of the King's Highway.

Total, one gur, one sixth, seed-corn, (and) the trunks of that field.

With Bel-edhir son of Bel-ushibshi

Son of Nur-Sin, Mardug-nasir-abil son

Of Itti-Mardug-baladhu son of Egibi

15. At the rate of $\frac{1}{30}$ gur of seed-corn for 16 shekels of silver a price

Did name, and at $9\frac{1}{2}$ manehs of silver he set

The full value thereof, and

9 shekels (and) a third of one shekel of silver, as

A luck-penny he gave him.

20. Total, $9\frac{1}{3}$ manehs, 9 shekels (and) a third of one shekel of silver,
Purchase money, from the hands of Mardug-nasir-abil

* Shid, gil (= gin), seal, reappears in Chinese as *tsít*, *yin*, seal, and *dup-sar*, scribe, is identical with *típ-sé*, clerk; *cp.* Heb. *tip-sar*, Jer. li, 27.

- Son of Itti-Mardug-baladhu son of Egibi
 Bel-edhir son of Bel-ushibshi
 Son of Nur-Sin the value of his field, the full money,
 25. Hath received, hath taken away. There shall be no quarrelling,
 nor shall they draw back ;
 They shall not quarrel with one another.
 Whosoever among the brethren, the sons, the kindred,
 Males and females, of the house of the son of Nur-Sin,
 They shall quarrel thus : " That field
 30. Was not sold, and the money was not received !"
 The bargain-breaker (?) the money that he received
 Shall repay 12 times over :

By the sealing of this tablet

- In presence of Shiriktu son of Ziria son of Nur-Sin
 35. Paternal uncle of Bel-edhir (10 shekels of silver as his gift he
 took) :
 Ea-zir-ikisha son of Arad-Gula son of Uhumea
 Nabu-shum-ishkun son of Shamash-iriba son of Edheru
 Nabu-mushetik-urri son of Shula son of Tuna
 Mushezib-Mardug son of Shamash-shum-ukin son of
 Babutu
 40. Nabu-mushetik-urri son of Bel-ushibshi son of Nur-Sin
 The brother of Bel-edhir (15 shekels of silver as his gift
 he took).
 Arad-Mardug, scribe, son of Kittia
 Son of Ea's priest. Babylon, month Nisan,
 Day 12, year 3, Darius
 45. King of Babylon, king of the countries. Nail of Bel-edhir
 Seller of the field as his seal witnesseth.

NOTES.

Obv., 1.  denotes 30 *qa*, while a *gur* = 180 *qa*, according to OPPERT. Edin = *štru*, 'field,' is the Chinese *t'in*, as *zug* = *šru*, is the Chinese *tsi*, *tsu*.

  SHE-ZIR (or rather SHUKKUL), is explained *širu*, "seed." PEISER renders it "Saatfeld"; but why is A-SHAG added here?

2. *Zagpi išši bilti* is difficult. SHE-ZIR *zagpi* and SHE-ZIR-*shu zagpi* occur several times in the tablets published by Dr. PEISER,

who considers that *zaqqi* means "planted (with date-palms)." But *zaqpu* (= *zigpu*) may be a noun (= "tree," "stem," etc.).

The addition *iṣṣi bilti*, "trees of produce," seems to be peculiar to my tablet. *Biltu* is "produce," as in the phrases *bilat ekli*, "produce of a field," *bilat kire*, "yield of an orchard."

11. MU-MESH=*ṣuati*, "that." See PINCHES, *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets, etc.*, Part II, p. 45.

Lit., "according to a *bar* of seed-corn," etc. The 𒀭 was 6 *ga*, or $\frac{1}{30}$ of the *gur* (OPPERT). Now the field was sown with 210 *ga* (= 35 *bar*) of grain (1 *gur* or 180 *ga* + 30 *ga*), and the price agreed on was at the rate of 16 shekels for every *bar* (or 6 *ga*); so that the total sum to be paid was 35×16 or 560 shekels, = $9\frac{1}{2}$ manehs, as stated in the tablet.

18, 19. "As a luck-penny": lit., "by way of something over." OPPERT rightly refers *atru* to Heb. אֲתֵר . He renders "le superflu," "le pourboire."

28. That *salātu*, "females," is the Assyrian equivalent of $\text{𒀭𒀭} \text{ } \text{𒀭𒀭}$ 𒀭𒀭 in this instance, appears from the parallel tablets, cited above. But what an opportunity for the Anti-Accadists! IM-RI-A must, of course, be 𒀭𒀭 , *imra'ah*, "a woman"; or, as the signs have also the values NI-ŠA-A, 𒀭𒀭 , *nisā*, "women." Whoever can find satisfaction in either alternative, is welcome to his opinion. I do not share it.*

31. *Pakirrānu*, repetitor, OPPERT; der Zurückfordernde, PEISER.

35, 41. The paternal uncle and the brother of the vendor receive a *douceur* from the buyer.

44. The third year of Darius was 518 B.C.

* As 𒀭𒀭 is TAL and SHA(L), and 𒀭 is SHAL, SAL, female (= Chinese *sau*, so, woman), we may perhaps transcribe phonetically *im-shal*, regarding IM as the demonstrative prefix of nouns.



NOTES AU JOUR LE JOUR.—IV.

PAR G. MASPERO.

(Suite.*)

§. 16.—On sait quelles difficultés les premiers Egyptologues éprouvèrent à se reconnaître au milieu de l'obscurité qui enveloppait l'histoire des successeurs de Thoutmosis I. Champollion, après avoir essayé des combinaisons diverses et fort compliquées, où Rosellini persista jusqu'à la fin, † était arrivé dans les derniers temps de sa vie à déclarer que Thoutmosis III, ou Moëris, était le petit-fils de Thoutmosis I^{er}, probablement le fils de Thoutmosis II. ‡ Hincks donna, dès 1838, la solution du problème qui a prévalu jusqu'à nos jours. § Un monument du British Museum, la statue du prince Anebni, || lui apprit que Thoutmosis III était le frère d'Hatshopsitou ¶ , et son opinion, adoptée aussitôt par Birch ¶ puis par Lepsius et Bunsen, ** a prévalu malgré une protestation

* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII, page 525.

† Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, T. III, parte I, p. 129, sqq.

‡ Cela résulte, comme beaucoup d'observations que la mort empêcha Champollion d'achever ou de publier lui-même, des divers passages de ses *Notices* où il appelle *Maris* Thoutmès III, tantôt petit-fils de Thoutmès I^{er}, tantôt fils de son prédécesseur immédiat.

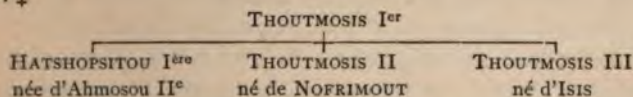
§ Hincks, *On the Years and Cycles used by the Ancient Egyptians*, dans les Mémoires de l'Académie de Dublin, T. XVIII, 2^e partie, p. 192 ; le texte d'Anebni est cité dans la longue note qui va de la page 193 à la page 195. Il ne faut pas confondre ce mémoire avec celui que Hincks publia, plus de vingt ans plus tard, en 1865, sous un titre analogue, dans le même recueil.

|| Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions* (1837), pl. 56, Bonomi, and Arundale, *Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum* (1842-1843), pl. 51, fig. 179 ; Lepsius, *Auswahl* (1842), pl. XI. La statue est mentionnée pour la première fois dans le catalogue de la vente Salt, annexé à G. d'Athanas, *A Brief Account of the Researches and Discoveries in Upper Egypt*, p. 247, No. 1114.

¶ Birch, adoptant les vues de Hincks dans le texte des *Egyptian Antiquities*, p. 77, avait paru en faire honneur à Wilkinson. Hincks ayant réclamé, dans son mémoire *On the Defacement of the Egyptian Monuments*, p. 4 du tirage à part Birch reconnut aussitôt ses droits dans une note de l'article *On the Obelisk on the A-meidan at Constantinople*, p. 4 du tirage à part.

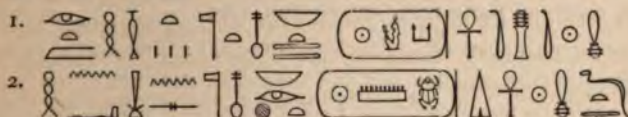
** Bunsen, *Ægyptens Stelle*, T. III, p. 79, sqq.

isolée de Lesueur,* et les hésitations prolongées de Brugsch.† Aujourd'hui, il est acquis pour tout le monde que le cadre généalogique de la famille de Thoutmosis I^{er} peut se dresser comme il suit : ‡



et que Hatshopsitou, Thoutmosis II et Thoutmosis III, sont tous trois des enfants de Thoutmosis I^{er}, nés de trois mères différentes.

Le fait est certain pour Hatshopsitou et Thoutmosis II ; l'est-il également pour Thoutmosis III ? Aujourd'hui encore, après cinquante ans de recherches et de fouilles, nous n'avons d'autre témoignage direct que celui que Hincks avait découvert sur la statue d'Anebni. Cette statue :



avait été faite pour Anebni par faveur spéciale de la bonne déesse Mâkeri et de son frère, le dieu bon Menkhopirri ; le premier cartouche a été martelé, mais le nom est encore visible sous les mutilations. Thoutmosis III est appelé frère de Hatshopsitou ; or Hatshopsitou est la fille de Thoutmosis I^{er}, donc Thoutmosis III est fils de Thoutmosis I^{er}. Le raisonnement de Hincks était excellent et devait nécessairement l'emporter, à moins qu'un monument d'autorité supérieure n'en détruisît les prémisses et ne convainquit d'erreur le prince Anebni ou le scribe qui rédigea son inscription. Lesueur crut trouver ce monument à Karnak. C'est un colosse de Thoutmosis II, situé en avant du troisième pylône du Sud, et qui porte, entre autres, une inscription publiée de la sorte par Rosellini :

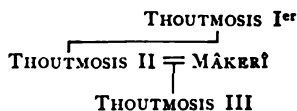


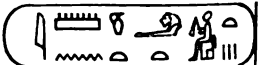
* Lesueur, *Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte*, p. 148, *sqq.*

† Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, p. 185-186, et *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 93.

‡ Brugsch, *Die Ägyptologie*, p. 478.

Cette inscription * avait été singulièrement interprétée par Birch, qui, adoptant l'opinion exprimée par Hincks, considérait Thoutmosis III comme étant le fils de Thoutmosis I^{er}, "Le premier des quatre colosses, représentant le monarque Thothmes I (dont le nom se trouve sur la ceinture), placé à main gauche, devant la porte du troisième propylée qui conduit hors du côté sud du grand temple de Karnak (sur lequel † le monarque Thothmes II est représenté debout entre deux divinités), porte sur le dos l'inscription suivante, mutilée : *Le roi du haut et bas pays, le Soleil stabilisateur des êtres, [Thothmes III], aimé d'Amenrâ, seigneur des trônes du monde, [a exécuté ceci avec, ou en-dehors de ses constructions] en la région méridionale, le 22 de Thoth, en sa quarante-deuxième année ; au nom de son père le dieu bon, le Soleil, le plus grand des êtres créés. [Thothmes I].*" ‡ Les cartouches gravés sur la ceinture du premier colosse, celui qui porte notre inscription, sont  etc., c'est-à-dire les cartouches de Thoutmosis II ; mais Birch, prévenu par l'opinion courante, n'a pas fait attention aux hiéroglyphes, et a traduit par deux fois THOTHMES I où le texte de Rosellini lui donnait Thoutmosis II. Lesueur, plus exact, a reconnu les cartouches de Thoutmosis II, comme Champollion et Rosellini l'avaient fait tout d'abord ; puis il a tiré de l'inscription la conclusion que Thoutmosis III était le fils de Thoutmosis II, et, comme il ne connaissait à Thoutmosis II d'autre femme que Makerî, il tenait Thoutmosis III pour le fils de Makerî et de Thoutmosis II. La généalogie de la famille se serait donc dressée de la sorte :



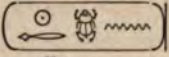
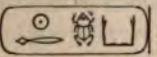
Il persistait d'ailleurs à voir dans  l'Amenenthé de Champollion, le prétendu second mari de la reine Mâkerî, régent pendant la minorité de Thoutmosis III^e.

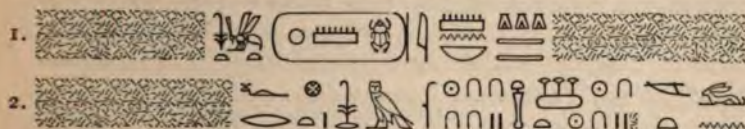
Il semblerait qu'un témoignage aussi positif que celui de ce monument eût dû faire hésiter les Égyptologues, et ils auraient hésité

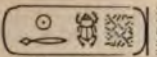
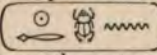
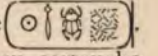
* Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, T. 3, *parte I*, *tav. annessa alla pagina 124*, fig. 2.

† C'est-à-dire, sur le côté sud du grand temple de Karnak.

‡ Birch, *Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak*, pp. 3 et 4 du tirage à part.

sans doute, si le texte avait été établi d'une manière certaine ; malheureusement il ne l'était pas, et le cartouche, que Rosellini donne comme étant intact, était mutilé vers le bas, c'est-à-dire dans la partie qui distingue le prénom de Thoutmosis II () de celui de Thoutmosis I^{er} (). Voici en effet, comment Champollion, compagnon de voyage de Rosellini et qui vit le monument en même temps que lui, copie l'inscription :



 * Comme la fidélité de la copie de Champollion est justifiée, au moins en ce qui concerne le second cartouche, par Lepsius,† E. de Rougé,‡ Mariette,§ on comprend que le raisonnement de Lesueur, appuyé sur le témoignage douteux de Rosellini, n'ait pas prévalu contre le témoignage positif de Hincks et du prince Anebni. E. de Rougé, le seul à ma connaissance qui ait examiné attentivement la question dans ces trente dernières années, estimait que la lecture () de Rosellini était une restitution suggérée par la présence du cartouche de Thoutmosis II sur le ceinturon. "Quatre colosses," dit-il, "se trouvaient en avant des propylées. Le premier à gauche porte le nom de *Tahutmès II* sur sa ceinture. Sur le dos de ce colosse on lit une inscription où *Tahutmès III* constate qu'il a élevé ce monument, dans la quarante-deuxième année de son règne, à son père (). Le dernier signe étant effacé, ceci pouvait appartenir au cartouche de *Tahutmès I* ou de *Tahutmès II*, qui commencent de même, mais l'un se termine par  et l'autre par . On a tout d'abord attribué ce cartouche à *Tahutmès II*, dont le nom se rencontrait déjà sur la ceinture du colosse, et c'est en vertu de ce document qu'on avait d'abord pris *Tahutmès II* pour le père de *Tahutmès III*. Mais

* Champollion, *Not. Mon.*, T. II, p. 184.

† Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, pl. 16. c.

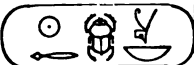
‡ E. de Rougé, *Etude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, dans les *Mélanges* T. I, p. 46.

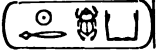
§ Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 38, b 2.

en examinant l'inscription sur le monument, on s'aperçoit facilement que la partie effacée du cartouche exige un caractère, tel que le , qui occupe plus de place en hauteur que le . On a du reste maintenant la preuve que c'était bien *Tahutmès I^{er}* qui était le père de *Tahutmès III*, ce dernier n'était que le frère de *Tahutmès II*.^{*}

J'avoue que le raisonnement de M. de Rougé avait laissé subsister quelques doutes dans mon esprit, lorsque j'examinai la question au moment de rédiger mon mémoire *Sur les Momies royales de Dér el Bahari*. Si la lacune est trop forte pour , elle peut convenir

aussi bien à  ou à  qu'à , et une restitution 

ou ,[†] aussi vraisemblable matériellement que la

restitution , maintiendrait sur le colosse le nom de Thoutmosis II. Du reste, Rosellini n'est pas le seul à avoir vu ou restitué le prénom de ce roi : Brugsch l'a vu ou restitué comme lui en 1853, quinze ans après la découverte de Hincks, et au moment où celle-ci venait d'être popularisée par le succès du grand ouvrage de Bunsen. "Au milieu de la ceinture," dit-il, "se trouve l'inscription : *Le dieu bienfaisant Ai-cheper-en-Râ, qui donne la vie éternelle, fils du Soleil Thoutmès II.*" Le même nom reparait sur le côté droit du siège ; par contre, à la partie postérieure on lit l'inscription suivante à moitié détruite, en deux colonnes :

1^{re} COLONNE.

Le roi
Thoutmès III,
l'aimé
d'Anon,
maître
des trônes
des deux mondes

3^e COLONNE.

son . . . dans le pays du Sud,
en l'an 42,
le 22 (?) du mois de Thot,
à cause de l'amour, qu'il avait
pour son père,
le dieu bienfaisant
Ai-cheper-en-Râ.

Toutefois ce dernier cartouche n'est pas celui de son père, mais celui de son frère, de même que dans l'inscription de la ceinture, si bien que nous tombons ici dans les difficultés suivantes :

* E. de Rougé, *Etude des Monuments du Massif de Karnak*, dans les *Mélanges*, T. I, pp. 45-46.

† Voir les variantes rassemblées par Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, pl. XXIV No. 344, c-d.

"1.—Le roi Thoutmès III dit expressément, qu'il a élevé cette statue dans sa quarante-deuxième année à son père Thoutmès II.

"2.—D'après l'arbre généalogique dressé par Lepsius (voir Bunsen, *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, T. III, p. 79) Thoutmès II est le frère non le père de Thoutmès III; celui-ci a pour père le premier Thotmès.

"3.—L'hypothèse, d'après laquelle Thoutmès II avait falsifié le nom par substitution de *n* à *k*, est intenable, car il mourut avant Thoutmès III, et la statue n'a été élevée qu'après son règne, dans la quarante-deuxième année de Thoutmès III.

"Deux éventualités seulement sont donc possibles, ou Thoutmès II est le père de Thoutmès III, ou Thoutmès II est le frère et alors l'inscription était ainsi conçue: [Thoutmès III a élevé cette statue] à son [frère] à cause de l'amour pour son père."*

Le langage de Brugsch est embarrassé et il ne conclut pas de façon nette. Mais Brugsch était sur les lieux quand il écrivait ce passage, il connaissait la théorie de Hincks par Lepsius, puisqu'il la discute et l'oppose au témoignage de l'inscription; si donc il admet que le second cartouche est celui de Thoutmès II, c'est qu'il a cru lire *~~~~* comme Rosellini, ou *Σ*, dans la partie mutilée et non pas *Λ*. Plusieurs années après, tous les doutes que ce fait soulevait en son esprit n'étaient pas encore levés, car il écrivait dans la première édition de son *Histoire*: "La question la plus importante est de savoir, si Tothmosis III était le fils ou le frère de Tothmosis II. N'ayant pas les moyens de pouvoir résoudre cette difficulté, nous préférons de continuer l'histoire de ce temps, en remarquant encore une fois, que les listes monumentales excluent la reine, et font suivre Tothmosis II par le troisième roi portant le même nom."† Plus tard cependant, il renonça à sa lecture, sans doute devant le témoignage unanime de Lepsius, E. de Rougé, et Mariette, car je lis dans l'édition allemande de son *Histoire* la traduction suivante du même texte: "[Le maître des deux pays et] roi Thoutmès III, l'adorateur d'Ammon Thébain [a fait réparer ce monument qui avait été mutilé, lorsqu'il entra] dans la ville Ni (Thèbes) du Midi, en l'an 42, le 22 du mois de Thot, afin que subsiste à jamais le nom de son père Thoutmès premier." Et il ajoute: "A côté du père se trouve la petite image

* Brugsch, *Reiseberichte aus Ägypten*, pp. 185-186.

† Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 98.

de sa fille, la fille royale et royale épouse jusqu'à présent inconnue, l'adoratrice de son père Mout-nofer-t."⁶ Nous savons depuis les découvertes de M. Grébaut que la reine Moutnofrit fut la mère de Thoutmosis II, par suite la femme de Thoutmosis I^{er},[†] et cela m'avait paru peu favorable à l'identification du roi mentionné dans le second cartouche avec Thoutmosis I^{er}; toutefois, l'accord des Egyptologues à refuser la lecture  de Rosellini, et le témoignage, en apparence positif de la statue d'Anebni, m'avaient déterminé à supprimer mes doutes pour le moment, et à conserver l'arrangement proposé par Hincks.

Voici pourtant un monument qui apporte un document décisif. Au commencement de cette année, M. Boussac, élève de notre *Mission du Caire*, chargé de copier le tombeau d'Anna, le fit déblayer entièrement et mit au jour les deux stèles de la première salle. M. Bouriant les copia et me les envoya aussitôt : la plus importante a été publiée aussitôt dans le *Receuil*.† “ A la ligne 16, fait observer M. Bouriant, il est dit que Thoutmès II étant mort, *son fils* lui succéda. Si, comme tout porte à le croire, le successeur de Thoutmès II est bien Thoutmès III, il faut admettre désormais que celui-ci était le fils et non le frère de Thoutmès II ; de plus, le lien de parenté qui unit Hâtshopsitou à ces deux princes se trouve défini autrement qu'il a été jusqu'à présent admis, et l'on peut décider que l'énergique princesse était la sœur de Thoutmès II, et, par suite, la tante de Thoutmès III.” L'inscription raconte en effet comment Anna, après avoir joué un grand rôle sous Thoutmosis I^{er}, dont le nom est d'ailleurs détruit, joua un non moins grand rôle sous Thoutmosis II

 . Quand ce roi (je traduis librement),
 “régnait sur Kimit, devint prince sur la Terre Rouge, prit les deux
 terres en juste de voix, moi je remplis le cœur du roi en toutes ses
 places, et grand fut ce qu'il me fit plus que [ce qu'on avait fait pour]
 les ancêtres ; j'atteignis la vaillance des fœux, étant dans la faveur
 du roi Toutes mes affaires se réglaient en santé et vie,
 selon ce que disait le roi lui-même en ma faveur :

* Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 371.

† Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien*, T. I, pl. 1; cfr. Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Dér-el-Bahari*, *Les Mémoires de la Mission Française*, T. I, p. 633 sqq.

‡ *Recueil de Travaux*, T. XII, pp. 105-107.



“Puis quand, sortant au ciel, il eut joint les dieux, que son fils se tint en sa place comme roi des deux pays et qu’il fut prince sur le siège de celui qui l’avait engendré, —et que sa sœur la divine épouse HÂTSHOPSITOU fit office d’administrateur du pays, que les deux terres furent sous ses destins, que Kîmit travailla pour elle humblement,” Anna jouit pendant le règne nouveau d’une faveur égale à celle qu’il avait eu sous les règnes précédents. Le texte est formel. C’est Thoutmosis II qui monte au ciel et joint les dieux, selon l’euphénisme par lequel on désignait la mort des rois ; comme il est le seul sujet exprimé précédemment, c’est à lui que s’appliquent les pronoms de  ¹, peut-être de , c’est de lui Thoutmosis II que le nouveau roi est fils, et de lui Thoutmosis II que la reine, devenue par veuvage  épouse divine, est sœur. Je ne pense pas qu’on veuille intercaler entre Thoutmosis II un roi, même éphémère, qui aurait été fils de Thoutmosis II, et sous lequel Hâtshopsitou aurait été régente comme elle le fut au début du règne de Thoutmosis III. Il faut donc admettre que notre Anna savait ou croyait Thoutmosis III fils et non frère de Thoutmosis II, et renverser d’un seul coup l’échafaudage généalogique construit depuis cinquante ans par Hincks et par plusieurs générations d’Egyptologues.

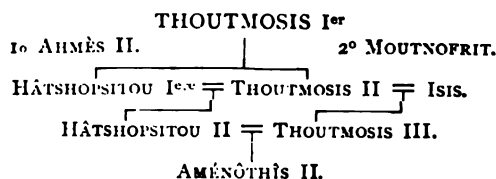
La question est telle : d’un côté Anna dit que Thoutmosis III est fils de Thoutmosis II, de l’autre Anebni affirme qu’il est frère d’Hâtshopsitou, lequel des deux a raison, et n’auraient-ils pas raison l’un et l’autre ? Remarquons d’abord qu’on ne peut pas les soupçonner de parler d’événements ou de personnes qu’ils connaissent mal, et par conséquent de nous tromper en se trompant eux-mêmes. Anna était de son vivant un gros personnage, ayant accès au palais en vertu de ses emplois, et toute l’inscription de sa stèle nous montre qu’il entretenait des rapports personnels avec les souverains ; il connaissait directement Thoutmosis II, la régente Hâtshopsitou, savait les liens

réel. * On dirait qu'Anna veut indiquer nettement le lien de parenté exacte qui rattache Thoutmosis III à son prédécesseur, car non content de le traiter de *son fils* , il insiste en lui parlant de *celui qui l'a engendré*   , et le mot   OUTOUT marque de la manière la plus expressive ce que les deux rois étaient l'un à l'autre. Si la filiation indiquée au tombeau d'Anna ne comporte aucune fiction, en est-il de même de la relation présentée sur la statue d'Anebni? Remarquons d'abord qu'Anebni, ni aucun de ses contemporains, ne dit nulle part que Thoutmosis III était le fils de Thoutmosis I^{er} ni que celui-ci l'eût   engendré: il dit seulement que Thoutmosis III était le  frère de Hâtshopsitou. Or les mots *frère*  et *sœur*  n'indiquent pas toujours en Egyptien la relation de frère à sœur de sang comme chez nous. Ils marquent des rapports d'amour entre amants ou époux comme au *Papyrus Harris* No. 500, ou de fraternité métaphorique entre deux souverains alliés; les rois de Babylone et de Ninive, même de petits princes syriens, donnaient du frère à Amenhotpou III et IV dans les dépêches officielles de Tell el Amarna, et c'était cette sorte de parenté diplomatique que le rédacteur du traité entre Ramsès II et Khitisarou désigne par le terme    *fraterniser*. Les souverains étaient frères et sœurs dans l'antiquité comme de nos jours, quelque fût d'ailleurs le degré de parenté réelle qui existât entre eux. En Egypte, la cour de Pharaon renfermait des *frères royaux*   qui, à Napata du moins, eurent le privilège de fournir des souverains au royaume d'Ethiopie † Le mot  *frère* n'exprimait donc pas nécessairement la relation exacte qui existait entre Thoutmosis III et la reine Hâtshopsitou; il pouvait marquer le rapport de fraternité royale, nous dirions plus exactement de confraternité, qui s'était établi entre les deux souverains. Cette fraternité pouvait paraître d'autant plus nécessaire à constater que Thoutmosis III avait une origine relativement humble. Sa mère Isis n'était pas de sang royal; ce n'était probablement qu'une femme de condition inférieure,

* Lepsius, *Auswahl*, T. IX, a-b-c.

† Maspero, *Etudes Egyptiennes*, T. II, pp. 14-15.

peut-être une suivante de Hâtshopsitou, pour laquelle le souverain avait eu un caprice. Thoutmosis III ne l'a jamais représentée ni même nommée dans les monuments officiels que nous possédons de lui. Hâtshopsitou recueillit l'enfant que cette femme avait eu, et qui était le représentant mâle le plus direct de la lignée pharaonique ; elle le plaça sur le trône, et lui donna la consécration légitime en le mariant à sa propre fille à elle, fille comme lui de Thoutmosis II, mais née de parents ayant l'un et l'autre le sang solaire dans les veines, Hâtshopsitou II. La relation de parenté entre Thoutmosis III et sa tante, se compliquant des relations que la régence avait mises entre eux, rendait difficile le choix d'un terme qui répondît exactement à la situation des deux souverains. Thoutmosis III, n'étant que le beau-fils de Hâtshopsitou, ne pouvait l'appeler sa mère ; comme il n'était que son demi-neveu, le terme de tante ne convenait guères et d'ailleurs les locutions ordinaires  *Sœur de son père* ou  *filz de son frère* étaient assez compliquées pour être incommodes. Les termes  *frère*,  *sœur*, étaient seuls assez élastiques pour convenir, et c'est celui qu'on employait officiellement parmi les gens qui faisaient, comme Anebni, partie de l'entourage immédiat des deux souverains : ainsi la reine Tii qui n'était pas la sœur de son mari Amenhotpou III, le traite néanmoins de *frère* , sur la table d'offrandes de M. Petrie (*Illahun*, pl. XXIV). On a donc :



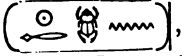
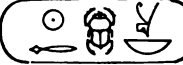
Cet agencement tient mieux compte que les précédents des faits qui rendirent possible et même nécessaire la régence de Hâtshopsitou. Si Thoutmosis III avait été le fils de Thoutmosis I^{er}, même en admettant qu'il eût été âgé d'un an seulement à la mort de son père, et que le règne de Thoutmosis III eût été de cinq à six ans au plus, comme la régence d'Hâtshopsitou dura près de vingt ans, l'addition de tous ces chiffres minimum donnerait déjà près de trente ans : il est peu probable qu'un homme du tempérament actif de Thoutmosis III ait supporté aussi longtemps la tutelle d'une femme. Si ²¹

contraire il est le fils de Thoutmosis II, en admettant qu'il soit né peu avant la mort de son père, c'est comme enfant de deux ou trois ans qu'il monte sur le trône, son jeune âge rend la longue régence plus vraisemblable, et on peut fixer aux environs de sa vingtième année le moment où il devint seul roi, soit par la mort, soit par la retraite, soit par la déposition de Hâtshopsitou. Les cinquante-quatre ans de son règne marqueraient à un ou deux ans près la durée de sa vie.

Il faut, avant d'en finir, revenir une fois encore sur le colosse de Karnak dont il a été si souvent question dans cette note. Au fond, la vraie raison qui empêchait les Egyptologues d'accepter la lecture de Rosellini et de Brugsch, c'est moins la difficulté de combler la lacune avec ,  ou  au lieu de , que la conviction où l'on était d'avoir par ailleurs un témoignage incontestable de la parenté de Thoutmosis I^{er} et de Thoutmosis III. E. de Rougé dit implicitement que cette considération prévaut dans son esprit contre toute autre : "On a du reste maintenant la preuve que c'était bien *Tahutmès I* qui était le père de *Tahutmès III*; ce dernier n'était que le frère de *Tahutmès II*." Du moment que cette preuve est écartée, il faut examiner si les circonstances accessoires ne permettent pas de revenir sur une question qui paraissait être résolue et de rendre le colosse et l'inscription à Thoutmosis II. Mariette reconnaît expressément que le colosse représente Thoutmosis II. "Que ce roi ne soit pas Thoutmès II, c'est ce qu'il semblerait difficile d'admettre. La pratique des monuments enseigne en effet que le nom inscrit sur la boucle de ceinture des statues est toujours celui du personnage dont la statue est l'image.* Or c'est le nom de Thoutmès II que reproduit l'inscription *b 1* [de la planche 38 de *Karnak*]. Peut-être les inscriptions *b 2* et *b 3* pourraient-elles faire une difficulté. L'une en effet semblerait nous mettre en présence de Thoutmès I^{er} comme le roi dont la statue offre la représentation; une mauvaise coupure de l'autre pourrait faire croire que par les mots  , le texte entend également parler du père de Thoutmès II, qui est Thoutmès I^{er}. Mais la légende *b 2* ne se rapporte pas nécessairement à l'érection de la statue, et peut avoir été gravée après

* "La belle statue royale de Turin (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 11), porte sur la ceinture le nom de Thoutmès I^{er}, qui est le nom du roi auquel elle a été dédiée par Thoutmès II."

coup sur la plinthe par Thoutmès III, à la suite de quelque événement en rapport avec le souvenir de Thoutmès I^{er} que la mutilation du texte ne permet plus de préciser. Quant à la légende *b* 3, elle prouve tout simplement que l'auteur de la statue [Thoutmès II] place le monument qu'il érige sous la sauvegarde d'Ammon, dieu de Karnak et du ciel."* Le grand sens archéologique de Mariette lui a permis de reconstituer l'histoire du colosse. Il représente Thoutmosis II qui grave son nom sur la ceinture (*b* 1), et le consacre à Amon (*b* 3), et place à côté de la jambe droite la figure et le nom d'une petite princesse Moutnofrit (*b* 4), que Mariette croyait être la fille du souverain, mais que nous savons aujourd'hui être sa mère. En l'an 42, Thoutmosis III grave une inscription nouvelle (*b* 2) que Mariette, suivant l'exemple de Rougé, croit être adressée à son père Thoutmosis I^{er}. Mais nous savons par Anna que Thoutmosis III était le fils de Thoutmosis II; le nom de père donné à Thoutmosis I^{er} en pareil cas ne serait qu'un titre général ne marquant pas la relation exacte de père à fils. On doit observer cependant que Thoutmosis III, réparant en l'an XXII le colosse voisin d'Aménouthis I^{er} † qui, à ce compte était aussi bien son père que Thoutmosis I^{er}, ne le traite pas de  père. Il y a lieu de conclure de cette différence d'expression que si Thoutmosis III, s'appropriant par une inscription les colosses de ses prédécesseurs, a mis sur celui-là seul qui représentait Thoutmosis II la locution     où il inséré  père devant le cartouche aujourd'hui mutilé, c'est que ce colosse, colosse de Thoutmosis II, figurait réellement son père charnel. Quand donc Rosellini et Brugsch, entraînés par leur instinct archéologique, lisaient ou croyaient lire dans le cartouche mutilé le prénom de Thoutmès II, ils avaient raison, et je rétablirai le dernier signe soit  comme Rosellini

, soit, en tenant compte des observations de Rougé  ou .

§ 17.—Je lis dans le mémoire fort intéressant que M. Steindorff a consacré à la transcription des noms propres égyptiens dans les

* Mariette, *Karnak*, Texte, pp. 59-60.

† Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 38, c 2; Texte, p. 60.

textes cunéiformes, le passage suivant: "8^m U-na-mu-nu. Col. I, l. 97.—Roi de la ville de Na-at-hu-u. Ce nom propre de personne ne peut être expliqué pour le moment. On ne doit pas penser à le rapprocher du nom divin  *imn* (, "Αμμων")."* J'avais, il y a vingt ans, proposé de comparer OUNAMOUNOU à l'Égyptien OUN-AMON, OUN-NI-AMON.† Le nom de   est assez fréquent à partir de la XX^e dynastie, et j'en ai relevé plus de dix exemples sur les stèles du musée de Boulaq. Toutefois, comme ces monuments sont encore inédits, je me bornerai à renvoyer à un objet du musée de Leyde, qui nous a conservé le souvenir d'un  . Le nom signifie *Amon existe*, et appartient à une série dont je connais plusieurs exemples:   OUNOUPHTAH à Boulaq,   OUNHAR-PEKHROUDI à Leyde.‡

La transcription assyrienne OUNAMOUNOU est des plus exactes. La vocalisation OUN du verbe  s'est conservée en Copte , à côté de , . L'orthographe AMOUNOU montre qu'au VIII^e et au VII^e siècles avant notre ère le nom  avait conservé sa voyelle finale: AMOUNOU est analogue à HOUROU, que les mêmes transcriptions nous ont conservées pour , , et à  ANOUPOU,  TOUMOU (ATOUMOU), SHOUSHINQUO . Je laisse de côté la question d'accent dans les composés que soulève la comparaison d'OUNAMOUNOU  , et de TANDAMANI[E] ( ): je me borne à remarquer que la finale , @, ou, n'était pas la seule qui subsistât encore à cette époque. Les transcriptions PATOURISI, KOUSI de   nous montrent l'i  encore

* *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, T. I, p. 350.

† *Revue Critique*, 1869, T. II, p. 376: "Unamunu répond peut-être à Un-Amen ou bien Un-n-A-men, l'être d'Ammon." Lauth avait proposé   Honamoun, qui a une aspirée de trop.

‡ LEEMANS, I, A, pl. 7, 602 a et d.

§ LEEMANS, I, A, pl. 9, 971 c.

subsistant à la finale : l'i de POUTOUBISHTI est l'i du féminin, dégagé, par la chute du  final, au moment où l'antique    BAISITIT, BASTIT, BISTIT, féminin de BASTI, *celui qui est le léopard* ou *celui qui appartient au léopard*            BASTI[T].^{*} Dans TAPNAKHTI[E] la voyelle finale s'est aussi maintenue, et par suite, l'Egyptien devait prononcer les noms en   final,                      TAFNAKHTI,         NAMROULI, NAMROTI, ainsi que je l'ai fait depuis longtemps.

§ 18.—Le seul mot que les textes égyptiens nous aient rendu jusqu'à présent pour désigner le carquois est                                        ASPATI,                      ASPATOU, ASPOUTOU, où l'on a d'un commun accord reconnu un terme d'origine sémitique,  c. suff.  pharetra.|| Le mot est masculin en égyptien

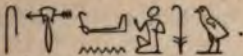
* En revanche, l'objection soulevée par MM. Erman et Steindorff (*Beiträge* I, p. 354), contre la présence du nom de la déesse                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 

qu'il soit féminin en hébreu et en assyrien (pluriel PATI, Sennachérib, *Prisme de Taylor*, V, l. 56): ces changements de genre se rencontrent par ailleurs, au passage des langues sémitiques dans l'égyptien. L'exemple le plus ancien que je connaisse de ce mot jusqu'à présent est celui qui nous est fourni par le texte de Ménothis II : "deux arcs, carquois plein de flèches, avec son baudrier de cuir."* C'est le fait par le roi lui-même dans une escarmouche contre les Hittites.

L'introduction du mot en Egypte est-elle antérieure à la XVIII^e dynastie? Le fait serait possible en lui-même, et, si les textes des Pyramides nous fournissent des transcriptions en hiéroglyphes de mots comme *froment*, je ne vois pas pourquoi d'autres textes de la même époque ne pourraient pas nous fournir un mot comme : l'objet fabriqué en Syrie aurait importé son nom avec lui, selon une règle presque constante en pareil cas. Toutefois, comme aucun des textes jusqu'à présent connus ne contient ce mot, la question doit être déplacée un peu si l'on veut lui donner une solution: il convient de rechercher dans les tableaux la représentation des carquois, et de voir quel est le nom écrit à côté de l'objet. Dans les scènes de l'Ancien Empire qui nous ont été conservées, il n'y a aucune bataille, mais l'hiéroglyphe des soldats archers ne s'exécute soigneusement et avec un grand luxe de détails ne s'applique point de carquois; les chasseurs qui sont assez nombreux sur les murs des tombeaux, n'ont jamais non plus de carquois, mais tiennent à la main droite, tout en bandant l'arc, les flèches dont ils se servent. Pour l'époque du Moyen-Empire, les documents sont plus nombreux. A Beni-Hassan, l'un des étrangers asiatiques qui ont été amenés à Khnoumhotpou porte un véritable carquois pendu à sa ceinture, mais il est le seul: aucun des soldats égyptiens figurés dans les tombeaux de Khiti et de Bokit ne sont équipés comme lui. Les soldats ont pour la plupart des paquets de flèches attachés aux ceintures, ou bien des étuis sans couvercle, sans courroie, qu'ils tiennent à la main droite ou appuyés contre l'épaule durant la

* Lepro, *Notes sur Quelques Points de Grammaire et d'Histoire*, dans la *Revue égyptologique*, 1879, pp. 57-58.

* Lepro, *Monuments*, T. IV, pl. CCCXXI, sq.; Rosellini, *Mon.*, pl. 26-28; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 131, 132, 133.

et la javeline, puis saisissant un moment où l'adversaire se découvre, le perce d'une flèche . On pourrait illustrer le passage entier avec des scènes tirées du tombeau de Khîti à Beni-Hassan.

Il me semble que ces faits nous permettent de répondre à la question que je posais au début. Les Egyptiens ne possédaient pas encore le carquois complet avec couvercle et courroie de support sous le Moyen-Empire : ils le connaissaient bien certainement, puisque les tribus voisines l'avaient et l'emportaient avec elles lorsqu'elles pénétraient à Béni-Hassan, mais ils préféraient ne pas l'employer. A partir de la XIX^e dynastie son nom sémitique *ASPATI*, apparaît dans les textes, et dès lors nous le voyons sur tous les monuments où des archers Egyptiens sont représentés combattants. Les Egyptiens avaient donc appris à en apprécier l'utilité, quand ils se trouvèrent en lutte journalière, non plus avec des maraudeurs, mais avec des armées régulières qui l'avaient. Je crois pour mon compte qu'il leur vint avec les Hyksos, comme le cheval et le char de guerre : l'invasion qui les soumit à un peuple mieux équipé qu'eux les obligea, par contrecoup, à perfectionner leur armement pour triompher ensuite de leurs vainqueurs. C'est donc très légitimement que le carquois a un nom sémitique en Egyptien et n'a que lui : c'était un objet d'importation sémite, et il s'introduisit aux bords du Nil entre 2400 et 1800 avant notre ère. Les Sémites eux mêmes l'avaient-ils inventé, ou le tenaient-ils d'un autre peuple, de celui, par exemple, qui leur amena le cheval ? Ceci est une question à laquelle je me dispenserai de répondre, parcequ'elle n'est pas du domaine de l'Egyptologie.

§. 19. Le nome de la Gazelle, dont j'ai traité au long, au § 14 de ces *Notes*, tantôt a été incorporé en tout ou en partie au nome du Lièvre, tantôt a été gouverné par une des branches de la famille princière de ce nome : c'était le cas à la XII^e dynastie, et l'histoire des deux fiefs est si bien entremêlée, qu'on ne peut guères étudier celle de l'un sans étudier celle de l'autre. J'ai donc été amené, il y a longtemps déjà, à examiner les monuments relatifs au canton d'Hermopolis, et surtout à tâcher de fixer exactement les limites de ce canton.

La limite septentrionale est suffisamment indiquée par ce que j'ai dit au § 14 de la limite méridionale du nome de la Gazelle : elle allait d'Abshadéh sur la rive gauche au voisinage de Sheikh Timayé

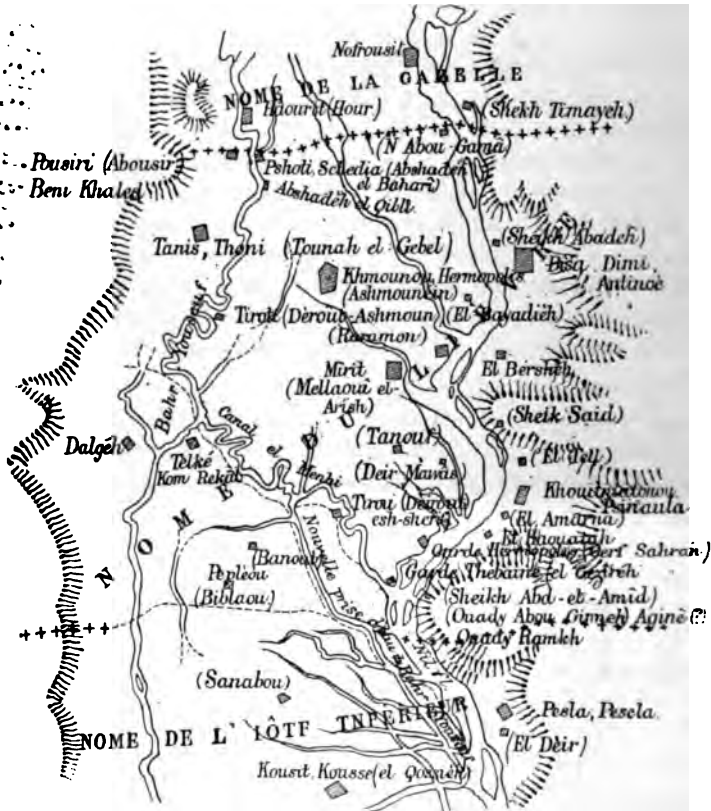
sur la rive droite. M. Brugsch a supposé que ce dernier bourg a tiré son nom de  DIMIT qui était le nom indigène d'Antinoé; * à la ruine de cette ville, le terme qui aurait servi à la désigner se serait déplacé et serait remonté au nord dans la direction de Béni-Hassan. Le fait est possible, bien que   soit rendu ailleurs, dans le nom de DAMANHOUR par un D  initial  et non par un T : il serait vrai, que je ne me croirais pas autorisé à changer mes conclusions antérieures et à placer la limite des deux noms au nord de Sheikh-Timayé, de façon à faire dépendre le bourg d'Antinoé, et, par suite, du nome Hermopolite. Sheikh-Timayé fait nécessairement partie de l'ensemble de terrains qui se rattache à Béni-Hassan : il marque l'extrémité sud de la plaine, aujourd'hui fort étroite, jadis assez large, qui formait la moitié orientale du nome de la Gazelle, et la nature l'a séparé d'Antinoé par un obstacle très malaisé à surmonter, "Entre l'enceinte appelée *Deyr*, qui est au nord d'Antinoé, et le village de Cheykh-Tmay, le Nil est encaissé par la montagne arabique, ou plutôt par une chaîne plus basse, haute de cent pieds seulement : un large plateau, qui a douze cents mètres, la sépare de la chaîne proprement dite ; c'est le chemin des caravanes. A un certain endroit, la montagne est ouverte en forme d'anse, et les Egyptiens y ont bâti un mur épais de 1^m3 en briques crues, arrangées de champ et à plat. Une large crevasse par où s'écoule un torrent pendant l'hiver, et devant laquelle est placée la muraille antique, fait présumer l'origine de celle-ci. L'anse a vingt-sept mètres de large environ ; elle se comble de plus en plus par les dépôts de limon. Auprès est une excavation, mais qui paraît naturelle. Il n'y a au loin à la ronde aucune espèce d'habitation." † — "Le plateau intermédiaire de la montagne, qui sert de chemin aux caravanes, est couvert d'éclat de pierres provenant de l'exploitation. . . Le chemin, qui dans cet endroit longe le Nil, est souvent coupé par ces ravins profonds, très difficiles à traverser, mais dont le lit est fort uni, à cause des sables fins que les eaux charrient avec elles." ‡ Un coup d'œil jeté sur les lieux montre que l'aspect n'a pas dû en changer sensiblement depuis l'antiquité, que le Nil a toujours passé en cet endroit au pied

* Brugsch, *Dict. Géographique*, p. 945-946.

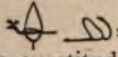
† Jomard, *Description de l'Iléptanomide*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 325-326.

‡ Jomard, *ibid.*, p. 332.

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de la montagne, et que la difficulté de communiquer était aussi grande alors qu'aujourd'hui entre Antinoé et Sheikh-Timayé : la limite des deux nomes passait donc vers le point où je l'ai placée, au sud de Sheikh-Timayé, au nord du Déir.

Au sud, la frontière du nome du Lièvre coïncidait avec celle de l'arbre *Iotf*-Inférieur , et il serait d'autant plus précieux de la déterminer avec exactitude qu'au temps des Ptolémées elle a divisé la Haute-Egypte de l'Heptanomide nouvellement créée. Sur la rive droite, je crois qu'on peut indiquer l'endroit où elle passait, grâce à une stèle du Pharaon Khouniaton. Ce prince raconte comment il délimita le nome où il avait fondé sa capitale nouvelle de Khoutniaton, et fit graver sur des rochers les stèles qui jalonnaient la ligne de démarcation entre ce nome et les nomes voisins. Deux de ces monuments ont été retrouvés dans la montagne qui borne au S. et au S.E. la vallée d'El-Amarna ; un autre en face, sur la rive gauche, marque au Gebel-Tounah l'extrémité nord-est du territoire nouveau. En examinant la carte, on verra qu'au sud de la montagne où les deux premières stèles sont gravées, le Nil range assez étroitement la chaîne Libyque, d'el-Haouatah jusqu'aux environs d'Ed-déyr ou Médinet-el-Kaïsar مدينة القيسر. “ Depuis el-Deyr jusque très-loin vers le Nord, la montagne arabe est, dit Jomard, escarpée à pic et baignée par le Nil.”* Le seul endroit où elle laisse une petite plaine, à Ed-déir, fait front à Sanabou et à Qousiéh, c'est-à-dire au territoire du nome de l'arbre *Iotf*-inférieur : il y a donc grand chance pour que nous devions l'attribuer à ce nome. Et de fait, les rares monuments que j'ai eu l'occasion de rencontrer dans cette région de la montagne montrent que le culte principal n'en était pas celui d'Hermopolis, Thot ou ses compagnons, mais celui de la déesse adorée à Qousiéh dans l'antiquité, Hathor. Tout donc se réunit pour faire croire que la petite plaine d'Ed-déir n'était pas comprise dans le nome du Lièvre, la délimitation vers el-Haouatah du nome de Khoutniaton que le Pharaon réformateur avait taillé pour la partie sud dans celui d'Hermopolis, la position naturelle du canton par rapport à Qousiéh, la différence des cultes. Aussi n'hésité-je pas à considérer que Khouniaton avait fait coïncider la limite méridionale de son territoire avec la limite méridionale du nome du Lièvre et que les stèles de lui qui subsistent encore nous donnent de ce côté la frontière méridionale du nome antique. Je

* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 307.

la place un peu au sud d'El-Haouatah soit vers le Sheikh Abd el Aamid شيخ عبد الحميد où il y a "les traces d'un mur de briques isolé, très ancien, que le sable enfouit tous les jours et dont on ne devine point l'objet," soit vers l'Ouady Ramkh وادی رمح,* qui, au temps de la Commission, servait de limite aux provinces de Siout et d'Ashmounéin.

Sur la rive gauche du Nil, la solution du problème ne s'impose pas tout d'abord avec la même netteté. On peut cependant déclarer d'une manière générale que la frontière doit aboutir soit à l'embouchure ancienne du Bahr-Yousouf, soit un peu plus au sud, à celle d'un des nombreux canaux secondaires qui se jettent dans le fleuve dans ces parages. Les inscriptions de Bershéh nous signalent en effet, comme étant sur le territoire du nome Hermopolitain, un bourg du nom de Tirôti ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲩ, où le prince Thothotpou vient recevoir la statue colossale qu'il se faisait dresser dans le temple de Thot, et qui arrivait probablement des carrières voisines du Gebel Abou-Fédah. J'ai montré, il y a quelques années, † que ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲩ TIRÔTI était l'origine du nom moderne Дѣрѣут, Déirout, auquel on a donné tant et de si étranges significations. Le nom Déirout paraît deux fois dans le pays, une fois à l'ouest d'Hermopolis à Déirout-Ashmoun, appelée aussi Déirout Omm-Nakhlah, une autre fois au sud d'Hermopolis, sur le Bahr Yousouf à Déirout esh-Shérif, appelée aussi Déirout Sarbâm. C'est cette dernière localité qui répond au TIRÔTI des inscriptions de Bershéh, ainsi que je l'ai dit ailleurs. Cette identification nous oblige à placer la frontière au-delà du cours du Bahr-Yousouf, et alors nous avons le choix entre deux tracés. La plupart des digues maîtresses qui séparent aujourd'hui les grands bassins d'irrigation dans la Moyenne-Egypte suivent encore les mêmes lignes que suivaient les digues anciennes: plusieurs même de celles qui sont construites partiellement en maçonnerie, conservent encore par place un noyau de briques ou de pierres antiques. Les nécessités sont aujourd'hui ce qu'elles étaient autrefois, et le soin jaloux avec lequel

* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 308.

† *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, T. VII, p. 23, note 43. L'identification a été admise par Dümichen, *Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 190. Dans son *Dictionnaire Géographique* (pp. 1127-1127), Brugsch dérive encore Дѣрѣут de l'Égyptien ⲧⲓⲣⲟⲩ OUÂRIT, avec l'article féminin ⲟⲩ incorporé.

les habitants des villages établis dans un bassin veillent à ce que les limites de leur bassin ne soient point modifiées par les gens de l'extérieur, a garanti depuis les temps les plus reculés l'intégrité des bassins et des digues. Or, il y a aujourd'hui entre Dérout-esh-Shérif et Qousiéh deux digues-maîtresses. La première, plus rapprochée de Déirout, est moderne en partie. Elle court obliquement en travers de la vallée en suivant tantôt l'ancien Bahr-Yousouf, tantôt la prise d'eau nouvelle de ce bras du Nil. C'est cette section qui est récente, de Déirout Esh-Shérif à l'embouchure : l'ancienne levée épousait les contours du Bahr el Yousouf d'autrefois, de Déirout au Nil. La seconde digue traverse la plaine, du Nil à la montagne, presque en ligne droite, au sud de la précédente et se confond à l'est avec sa portion extrême. Elle est très importante et a conservé par endroits des restes de maçonnerie antique. C'est cette seconde levée qui me paraît avoir marqué la limite méridionale du nome Hermopolitain. Supposons en effet que cette limite eût été à la première, c'est-à-dire au vieux Bahr-Yousouf : Déirout Tirôti aurait été par là même en dehors du nome où nous savons qu'il était. Cela admis, il est difficile de ne pas reporter la frontière sur la seconde digue, qui forme une sorte de limite naturelle, et n'est pas assez distante de la première pour que le territoire enfermé dans l'entre-deux ait pu être aisément divisé. Admettant ce tracé, la frontière de la rive gauche continue presque en ligne droite, de l'est à l'ouest, celle de la rive droite.

La difficulté d'arriver à une solution ferme de ce côté du Nil provient de ce fait que le nome de l'Ioré-inférieur semble n'avoir jamais eu une vie bien personnelle. D'abord partie du nom Lycopolite, il a été rattaché tantôt à ce nome, tantôt au nome du Lièvre, et a toujours été une marche disputée entre deux principautés plutôt qu'une principauté nettement définie : cette indécision s'est perpétuée presque jusqu'à nos jours, et sa capitale Qousiéh a oscillé sans cesse entre les provinces d'Oshmounéin-Miniéh et celles de Manfalout-Siout. On comprend que, dans ces conditions, le témoignage des documents puisse ne pas être toujours probant : selon les temps, tel village a pu être connu comme étant du nome d'Ashmounéin qui était réellement du nome de Qousiéh. Néanmoins, la ligne tracée plus haut donne une frontière si franche et si naturelle quand on l'étudie sur le terrain, qu'elle ne doit pas différer beaucoup de la frontière réelle, si elle ne coïncide pas entièrement avec elle. Je considère donc comme étant dans le nome du Lièvre toutes les localités situées au nord de cette ligne, quand même les textes où elles sont mentionnées ne joindraient

point au nom du village le nom du nome dont il dépendait. C'est le cas de Pepleou, Pouprou, qui est cité dans les actes de St. Jean de Phanisoit, $\text{ou } \text{ϥϥϥϥ ρϥϥϥϥ ρϥϥϥϥ ρϥϥϥϥ ρϥϥϥϥ}$ $\text{πεπλεω}.$ * Depuis Etienne Quatremère,† tous les savants qui ont interprété ce passage ont identifié πεπλεω Pepleou avec le village arabe de Beblaou, ببلا : Beblaou, étant au nord de la ligne indiquée plus haut, devra se trouver dans le nome hermopolitain. Beblaou, dit Jomard, "était fort considérable, il y a quarante ans : on y voyait plus de mille chrétiens. Des guerres intestines ont détruit ces familles : les chrétiens en sont sortis, et ceux qui ont survécu sont employés partout à la direction des fours à poulets ; industrie héréditaire, qui confirme l'ancienneté de cette position, inconnue comme tant d'autres à la géographie."‡ Je ne trouve dans les textes hiéroglyphiques aucun nom qui reponde à celui-là, non plus qu'à celui de ϥϥϥϥ qu'un fragment copte extrait par Zoega§ met expressément dans le nome hermopolitain. Il faut entendre par cette expression le canton situé sur le rive gauche du Nil, car les écrivains récents désignent d'ordinaire celui de la rive droite sous le nom de nome d'Antinoé. Rien ne permet de porter Stallou sur la carte. En revanche, les relevés modernes nous rendent plusieurs noms comme Banoub بانوب الجميل , Abousir, etc., qui sont évidemment anciens et ont conservé le souvenir de localités antiques dont les monuments ne nous parlent point. Abousir nous est connu par les documents de Vienne dont M. Krall a donné l'analyse sommaire dans les *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung des Erzherzogs Rainer* : plusieurs personnages y sont nommés $\text{περωεποσιρε ρϥϥ πτωϥ πϥϥϥϥ ϥπολις}$ gens de Bousire dans le district de Schmoun-la-ville.|| C'est évidemment la Bousir près Ashmounéin, dont parle Ibn-Haukal à propos de la mort du Khalife Merwân, et dont Quatremère a discuté la position.¶ Il la place, "à l'occident d'Aschmouneyn, à peu de

* Amélineau, *Un document copte du XIII^e siècle*, pp. 35-36 du tirage à part.

† Et. Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques et Historiques sur l'Égypte*, T. I, pp. 260-261 ; Champollion, *l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, T. II, pp. 208-209.

‡ Jomard, *Description de l'Heptanomie* dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 304.

§ Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 550.

|| Krall, *Mittheilungen*, 1887, p. 64.

¶ Quatremère, *Mémoires*. T. I, pp. 111 sqq. ; et *Observations sur quelques points de la Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 37, sqq. Champollion (*l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, T. I, p. 294) a adopté l'identification proposée par Quatremère.

distance de Hour," et il ajoute que le P. Sicard y "aperçut les fondements d'un long aqueduc de briques." C'est le site de Beni-Khaled el Qadfm, بنى خالد القديم et d'Anville met le nom d'Abousir en cet endroit sur sa carte de l'Égypte moderne. Jomard y décrit les "ruines d'une ancienne bourgade à huit mille mètres au nord-ouest d'Achmouneyn, qui paraît avoir été assez considérable. Ces ruines sont un peu dans les sables. L'espace qu'elle occupent est de trois cent quatre vingt mètres sur cent trente; les murailles subsistantes sont en briques crues. On y trouve avec des éclats de poterie et des amas de briques, des morceaux de vases ou d'albâtre. Il y a trois générations que ce village est ruiné; il était uniquement composé de chrétiens: mais la tradition rapporte qu'auparavant il y avait en ce même endroit une position très ancienne." * "J'ai demandé aux habitants [de Hour], s'ils connaissaient le nom de *Bousyr*, qui appartient d'ailleurs à plusieurs lieux de l'Égypte, et j'ai trouvé ce nom parfaitement inconnu.... Il paraît que, par le laps de temps, cette position a tout-à-fait disparu." † Il résulte d'observations prises en 1884 à Tounah et à Ashmounéin que le nom est connu encore et s'applique tantôt à Beni-Khaled, tantôt aux ruines voisines. ΠΟΥΣΙΡΗ des actes de Vienne nous rend donc un ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲓ P-ousiri qui existait là dans l'antiquité. Cette localité était située, comme on voit, à l'extrême nord du nome du Lièvre, contre la frontière du nome de la Gazelle.

L'onomastique de toute cette partie du pays est donc fort pauvre. En dehors des noms que je viens d'indiquer et de la ville même d'Hermopolis, elle nous a rendu jusqu'à présent deux Ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲩ et une demi-douzaine de bourgs d'époque copte, la mention du port d'Hermopolis, et celle de deux postes fortifiés d'époque grecque l'*Hermopolitana Phylakê* et la *Thebana Phylakê*. Le port d'Hermopolis est rappelé dans la stèle de Piânkhi. Tandis que les soldats du roi Ethiopien, croyant Hermopolis rendue ou sans défense, demeuraient ⲙⲓⲣⲓ "sur le fleuve, au *miri* du nome de OUNOU, le roi Nimrod se jeta dans la place à l'improviste et la mit en état de défense." ‡ E. de Rougé § a traduit *sur la rive du nome*

* Jomard, *Description de l'Heptanomie* dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 327.

† Jomard, *ibid.*, p. 329.

‡ Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. II, ll. 22-23.

§ E. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, 4^e fasc., pp. 19-20.

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it être déterminé sans trop de peine. Les tombeaux des princes Hermopolis et la nécropole sont aux environs de Sheikh-Saïd et el-Bershéh, où aujourd'hui encore les chrétiens de Mellaoui et de yadiéh viennent enterrer leurs morts :* c'est donc en face de rshéh et de Sheikh-Saïd qu'il faut chercher le point où les mîes s'embarquaient pour leur dernier voyage, et par conséquent site du port d'Hermopolis. On pourrait hésiter entre trois sites, yadiéh البياضيه, Raramon الررمون et Mellaoui الملاوي العريش. yadiéh est mis hors de cause par le large canal qui s'interpose re ce village et Ashmounéïn; Raramon n'a pris d'importance e dans ces derniers temps; seule Mellaoui a une position et des iquités qui la rendent propre à une identification avec le port Hermopolis. "Meylâouy el-A'rych est située à deux lieues en-on au sud d'Eshmouneyn : autrefois placée sur le Nil (et elle ait encore en 1720), cette ville était la capitale de la province derne; son port servait à la réunion des grains destinés pour la cque, et recevait en échange les produits de l'Arabie, dont elle it l'entrepôt. Mais le fleuve a abandonné ses murailles. . . ."† e est à l'embouchure de l'ancien Bahr-Yousouf, et ce canal la ttait en communication directe avec Ashmounéïn : elle n'a même nplacé cette ville que lorsque la diminution progressive du volume au apporté par le Bahr-Yousouf força les habitants à déserters demeures et à se rapprocher du Nil. "La moitié occidentale la ville est bâtie sur des ruines, où l'on trouve des colonnes, des rres taillées, des morceaux de marbre, de granit, etc., dès qu'on nt à y faire des fouilles. Il en est de même d'une partie de la ine à l'ouest."‡ J'ajouterai que le nom actuel me paraît avoir nservé le nom ancien. Le mot *ⲉⲣⲱ* fait au pluriel thébain *ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩⲉ*, *ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩⲉ*; mais on employait à Ashmounéïn, comme prouvent les papyrus de Vienne, § un dialecte analogue au soi-

* Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 331.

† Jomard, *Description des Ruines d'Ashmounéyn*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, 163.

‡ Jomard, *Description de l'Heptanomide*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 315. Jomard y découvrit un beau naos dont il a donné le dessin, *Antiquités*, T. IV, 67.

§ KRALL dans les *Mittheilungen aus d. S. d. Pap. Erz. Rainer*, 8, V, p. 23, : "die Koptischen Papiere der erzherzoglichen Sammlung wohl fast durchge- ds aus Schmin stammen." On y relève les formes comme *ⲕⲱⲙⲉⲓ* pour

disant bashmourique où p devient λ et o devient ε. $\epsilon\pi\rho\omega$ y serait * $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\omega$ et $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omega\omega\tau\epsilon$, * $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota$: $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon$ est la transcription exacte de ce * $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\iota$ et a conservé à travers le copte son nom ancien de $\overline{\text{MIRIT}}$ $\overline{\text{MILIT}}$.

Les postes que les géographes classiques signalent au voisinage d'Hermopolis, l'*Hermopolitana Phylakê* et la *Thebana Phylakê* ont donné lieu à quelques discussions. Agatharchide, qui en parle le premier, compte le nome Hermopolitain comme étant le troisième de la Haute Egypte après Memphis, et ajoute que le quatrième est appelé par les uns Phylakê, par les autres Schedia; c'est là en effet qu'on taxe les bateaux qui apportent les produits du haut fleuve et qu'on leur fait payer les droits d'entrée.* L'indication de la Phylakê comme formant un nome distinct est due peut-être à une distraction de Photius, mais l'importance de ce poste de douanes fluviales est confirmée par Strabon, qui dédouble le nom de Phylakê et distingue deux Phylakai, dont la première, l'*Hermopolitana* (*Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακὴ*) est considérée par d'Anville comme étant Mellaoui,† et par Jomard, qui combat d'Anville, comme étant identique avec Darout Omm-Nakhléh, qui s'appelle aussi Darout-Ashmoun.‡ D'Anville s'appuie d'abord sur le géographe Ptolémée, qui, en effet, réunit les deux postes en un seul terme pluriel *φυλακαί*, et les met tous deux à l'est d'Hermopolis, par 28° 15' de latitude, par conséquent sur le grand bras du Nil, tandis qu'il place Hermopolis par 28° 26'. Il discute ensuite le témoignage de Strabon, rappelle que ce géographe distingue l'*Hermopolitana* de la *Thebaica Phylakê*. "Ce qu'il ajoute au sujet de ce dernier poste, nous fait découvrir sa situation, et conséquem-

$\rho\omega\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau$ à côté de $\epsilon\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$, $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau$ $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa$ à côté de $\rho\omega\epsilon\iota\kappa$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\kappa$, $\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota\kappa$ à côté de $\chi\omega\epsilon\iota\kappa$, $\sigma\alpha\omega\tau\alpha\pi$ à côté de $\sigma\alpha\omega\tau\omega\pi$, $\chi\alpha\omega\tau$ à côté de $\chi\omega\omega\tau$. Krall cite (*ibid.*, p. 58) $\lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ pluriel de $\lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\eta$ d'après les mêmes papyrus, et $\epsilon\tau\iota$ est une forme régulière du pluriel dans ce dialecte comme $\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\omega\omega\tau\epsilon$ en thébain.

* Agatharchide dans Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, T. I, p. 122 : "τίταρος ὁ Ἑρμοπολίτης, πέμπτος δὲ οἱ μὲν Φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ Σχιδίαν καλοῦσιν, Ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν ἀνωθεν καταγομένων εἰσπράττονται καὶ τιθείασιν τὸ τέλος."

† D'Anville, *Mémoires Géographiques sur l'Égypte*, pp. 173-174.

‡ Jomard, *Description des Ruines d'Achmounéyn*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 184-299. Jomard a insisté à plusieurs reprises sur cette identification.

ment celle du précédent. C'est qu'en ce lieu est un canal, qui conduit à Tanis. Or, il faut être informé, que le *Khalitz-il-menhi*, ce qui signifie le canal fermé, sortant du Nil près de *Tarut*, surnommé *Eshsherif*, ou le Noble, coule à quelque distance au-dessous, près d'un lieu nommé *Tauna*, qui conserve entre autres vestiges d'antiquité un temple consacré au soleil,* et dans ce lieu nous retrouvons cette Tanis, dont il n'est mention que dans Strabon seul. De là il suit que la garde Thébaine occupant *Tarut-eshsherif*, il faut se rapprocher d'*Ashmunein* pour trouver la Garde Hermopolitaine; et je ne vois point de lieu plus convenable que celui de *Melaûi*, où le Nil détache une branche de canal qui va joindre l'autre." Jomard essaie d'infirmar le témoignage de Ptolémée, qu'il rejette en note en disant que la distance de 11', plus de 20 kilomètres, qu'indiquent les latitudes données par le géographe, convient bien à *Darout eshsherif* où il place la *Thebaica Phylakê*. "Ptolémée, qui n'indique pas particulièrement l'un ou l'autre de ces deux postes, avait en vue, selon moi, ce dernier. Le passage ne renferme que le mot de *Phylace*, sans l'épithète d'*Hermopolitana*." Jomard suppose que Strabon vint d'*Oxyrrhynchus* par le *Bahr-Yousouf*, et que, par conséquent, la *Garde Hermopolitaine* qu'il signale après cette ville (ἐξῆς) était, elle aussi, sur le *Bahr-Yousouf*. "Le village de *Darout Omm-Nakhlêh*, qui s'appelle aussi *Darout-Aschmoun*, et dans le voisinage duquel nous venons de voir qu'il y avait des vestiges d'antiquités, pourrait bien être dans l'emplacement du château ou poste hermopolitain, comme *Darout-el-Cheryf* (ou selon les Chrétiens, *Darout-Sarâbâm*), situé à l'embouchure du canal était le poste thébaïque." Plus loin, Jomard précise ses conclusions: "Je conclus que le château-fort dont parle Strabon sous le nom de *Thebaica Phylace*, était placé, non à *Darout* même, ou plutôt *Dérouet el-Cheryf*, mais à *Déroueh Sarâb-amoun*, où était une ancienne habitation, et non loin du couvent actuel appelé par abréviation *Deyr Abou-Sarâbâm*. L'autre position, appelée par les Grecs *Hermopolitana Phylace*, était, selon ma conjecture, soit à *Qasr-Hour*, soit à *Darout-Achmoun*, qu'il faudrait appeler *Derouet-Achmoun*; ce mot paraît signifier, en effet, *enceinte Hermopolitaine*."† Jomard a dû croire que Ptolémée n'a voulu parler que d'une *Phylakê*. Mais le texte du géographe alexandrin porte *φυλακαί*

* C'est l'ensemble de bas-reliefs de *Gebel-Tounah*; les missionnaires, chez qui d'Anville se renseignait, avaient pris ces curieux monuments pour les restes d'un temple consacré au soleil.

† Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 189-190.

au pluriel, et, à moins de l'accuser d'erreur, il faut bien reconnaître que la latitude qu'il indique s'applique aussi bien à la Garde Hermopolitaine qu'à la Garde Thébaine. Le raisonnement de Jomard et l'identification qu'il propose, adoptés généralement depuis lors, tombent donc d'eux-mêmes, et d'Anville a raison de chercher la Garde Hermopolitaine sur le Grand bras du Nil, comme il y cherchait la Garde Thébaine. Toutefois d'Anville commet deux erreurs qu'il aurait pu éviter en pesant plus exactement les données des auteurs grecs. En premier lieu, l'indication d'une même latitude pour les *Gardes* de Ptolémée prouve que les deux endroits devaient être assez rapprochés l'un de l'autre, pour que le géographe ne crût pas nécessaire de leur donner une mention distincte à chacun : or Melâoui est à vingt et un kilomètres de Dêroût esh-Shérif. En second lieu, le texte de Strabon énumère d'abord la Garde Hermopolitaine, puis la Garde Thébaine, puis le canal qui conduit à Tanis, *εἴτα ἡ Θηβαϊκὴ φηλακίη, καὶ εὐώρως φέρονσα ἐπὶ Τάνιν*, c'est-à-dire, met la Garde Hermopolitaine *au nord* du canal de Tanis ; or Dêroût esh-Shérif est *au sud* de ce canal. D'ailleurs Dêroût esh-Shérif est assez éloigné du fleuve, dans une position qui ne permet pas qu'un poste, installé en cet endroit, ait jamais pu être un point d'arrêt pour les bateaux qui montaient ou descendaient le Nil. Il me paraît donc que l'opinion d'Anville, bien que préférable à celle de Jomard, n'est pas entièrement exacte.

Si nous cherchons à préciser les termes du problème, voici à peu près les éléments dont nous disposons pour le résoudre. 1° D'après Ptolémée, les deux postes sont voisins l'un de l'autre, ce que le récit de Strabon confirme, car il les énumère d'une seule venue, les séparant seulement par ce renseignement, qu'à partir de la Garde Hermopolitaine on commençait à compter par schoenes de soixante stades chacun, jusqu'à Syène et Eléphantine. 2° D'après l'ordre suivi par Strabon, la Garde Hermopolitaine était au nord de la Garde Thébaine, et celle-ci au nord du canal el-Menhi, prise d'eau du Bahr-Yousouf, qui mène à Tanis-Tounah. 3° Les deux Gardes étaient au sud d'Hermopolis, car Agatharchide place le canton où elles étaient situées en cinquième nome, au-delà d'Hermopolis, qu'il désigne comme quatrième nome au voyageur qui va du nord au sud. 4° Les deux postes étaient sur le Nil même, et on payait à l'Hermopolitana Phylakê un péage pour les objets importés, par bateaux, de la Thébaine dans l'Égypte moyenne, *τελώνιον τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαϊδος καταφερομένων*. Strabon ne dit pas ce qu'on faisait dans la Garde

Thébaine, mais on peut le conclure de ce qui se passait à la Garde Hermopolitaine : on devait y percevoir un droit de péage sur les marchandises importées de la Basse et de la Moyenne Egypte. Je ne me rappelle pas qu'on ait essayé d'expliquer pourquoi on avait choisi le nome Hermopolitain pour en faire un bureau de douane. La raison en est, je crois, facile à deviner. Le commerce du Soudan arrive partie par le Nil et Assouan, partie par le désert et Siout : un poste établi au nord de Siout, à la frontière du nome *Iotf*-inférieur, qui était lui-même un prolongement du nome *Iotf*-supérieur ou Lycopolite, se trouvait donc au point où les deux courants d'importation réunis pénétraient en Egypte. Les marchandises venues par le désert s'embarquaient à Siout et descendaient le Nil : la *Garde Hermopolitaine* était là pour les frapper des droits de péage, à leur sortie du territoire Lycopolitain et à leur entrée dans le grand courant du commerce égyptien. Cette façon d'envisager le rôle des *Gardes* établies au sud d'Hermopolis nous permet de mieux comprendre la position dans laquelle elles se trouvaient l'une par rapport à l'autre : elles sont comme ces gares de nos frontières qui, situées à quelques minutes de distance, servent à percevoir les droits de douane et à faire ces visites de bagage dont les voyageurs se réjouissent tant. Si je cherche sur les cartes ordinaires, celle de la Commission ou celle de Linant, je ne trouve aucune position qui réponde aux données signalées plus haut : il n'y a aucun site antique, même peu important, sur les bords du Nil, entre Mellaoui et l'embouchure du Bahr-Yousouf, et les seuls qu'on ait signalés sont, comme Déroût, placés trop loin du fleuve et au sud du canal. Pour ne pas prolonger le débat, je dirai que la solution devient claire si, au lieu de se fier aux cartes anciennes, on prend la carte dressée, il y a quelques années, par les ingénieurs du Ministre de l'Intérieur égyptien. On y voit que Déroût 1° n'est plus au sud, mais au nord du canal ; 2° qu'il est beaucoup plus rapproché du Nil qu'il ne l'était sur la carte de l'expédition et surtout sur celle de Linant. Je n'en conclus pas que les auteurs de ces cartes se sont trompés ou ont donné des tracés faux : ils ont relevé ce qui existait de leur temps, mais le Nil et ses canaux se déplacent vite, comme je l'ai montré en étudiant le nome de la Gazelle, et leurs relevés ne sont plus exacts aujourd'hui. Le Nil était aussi capricieux dans l'antiquité qu'il l'est à présent ; il a dû s'éloigner et se rapprocher aussi souvent de Déroût, pendant les trois ou quatre siècles pour lesquels Agathar-chide et Ptolémée nous autorisent à constater l'existence des *Gardes*,

qu'il l'a fait de la fin du XVIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours. Les variations perpétuelles devaient obliger les *Gardes* à se déplacer sans cesse pour rester sans cesse au bord du courant, et elles n'ont point par conséquent laissé sur le sol de traces durables. Les quelques maisons qui les composaient ont dû être balayées par les eaux, comme des monuments autrement importants l'ont été, à Ombos, par exemple, ou à Qaou-el-Kèbir. La Garde Thébaine était donc au confluent du Nil et du Bahr-Yousouf, sur la rive nord, comme l'indique Strabon et suivait le déplacement de l'embouchure de manière à pouvoir en commander le passage, et empêcher les barques d'échapper aux péages en passant *par le canal qui mène à Tanis*. La Garde Hermopolitaine était un peu plus bas vers le Nil. Je dirai que les deux *Gardes* occupaient respectivement le site des villages modernes d'El-Gézîréh et de Gerf-Sarhân, جرف سرحا, mais sans rester comme eux attachées au sol : leur fonction étant de surveiller le cours de la rivière, elles suivaient la marche des berges en conservant toujours leur distance.

Le Bahr-Yousouf était bordé alors de localités florissantes qu'il enrichissait par son trafic. La plus importante paraît avoir été celle que Strabon appelle Tanis, et dont les ruines sont appelées Déir دير, *le couvent*, par les habitants du village voisin de Tounah تونة. * La forme hiéroglyphique du nom n'est pas connue, mais le copte nous donne ΘΑΠΕ,† ΘΑΠ, analogue à la prononciation arabe, et qui indique pour la forme ancienne une orthographe et une origine différente de celle du nom de la Tanis de la Basse-Egypte. Les papyrus de l'Archiduc Régner nous ont rendu quelques noms que je crois pouvoir placer sûrement dans les mêmes parages : un des personnages qu'ils citent était ΠΡΑΜ ΠΥΩΤΕ de Pshoté, un autre [Π]ΡΑΜΕ ΤΛΚΕ ΔΕΕ ΠΤΟΥ ΠΥΜΟΝΤΙ de Telké dans le canton de Shmoun.‡ ΤΛΚΕ Telké est évidemment la دلجة Dalgéh des cartes modernes. Le bourg ancien à qui Dalgéh a succédé

* C'est par suite d'une fausse assonance que plusieurs auteurs, et dernièrement encore Eisenlohr (*Ober-Egypten*, p. 4), croient reconnaître Tanis de la Haute Egypte dans le bourg de Tanouf, تنوف : Tanouf est en pleine terre, à distance du Nil, du Menhi et du Bahr-Yousouf.

† Krall, dans les *Mittheilungen*, 1887, p. 66.

‡ Krall, *ibid.*, 1887, p. 66.

n'était pas tout-à-fait au même endroit que le moderne: il était au "Deyr el-Garâdâouy, ou *Nazlét Abou Khalaga*, ruines assez étendues au nord de Koum Rekab, sur la rive droite du canal. L'endroit a été entièrement détruit trente ans avant notre expédition, par les *Gala-daouy*,* ou gens de Dalgéh, grosse bourgade à l'ouest. Auprès d'un canton ou dôme, il y a six colonnes debout, saillantes de deux mètres hors des décombres; cinq sont en granit rouge, une en grès Ces colonnes paraissent avoir été tirées de morceaux plus considérables par les anciens chrétiens; et le nom de *Deyr* fait penser qu'ils avaient sans doute une église en cet endroit La butte de ruines est peu élevée: il paraît qu'on l'a aplani pour la culture; ce qui a réduit l'étendue des vestiges, qui ont encore cependant quatre à cinq cent mètres: elle est recouverte de briques cuites et de débris de poteries. De même que l'église chrétienne avait succédé à un temple païen, une petite mosquée a succédé à l'église chrétienne."† Le nom hiéroglyphique de la localité est inconnu. Telké était situé au sud: Pshoté s'élevait au nord, sur la frontière du nome. C'est bien certainement le gros bourg d'Abshadéh ابشادة, qui se divise en deux hameaux, Abshadéh du nord ابشادة البحرى, et Abshadéh du sud ابشادة القبلى: la forme arabe est la transcription nécessaire du nom copte, et la Pshati, Pshadi, Πψα† du Delta est rendue de même par ابشادة‡ Abshadèh. Le nom hiéroglyphique ne m'est pas connu, mais je crois qu'on peut en retrouver la forme grecque. Agatharchide dit en effet que le cinquième canton de l'Egypte moyenne est appelé par les uns Phylaké, par les autres Schedia Σχεδια, à cause des péages qu'y paient les bateaux. Le même nom s'appliquait au bourg où les bateaux, allant de Memphis à Alexandrie, s'arrêtaient pour payer un droit de péage.§ Je soupçonne que le mot grec cache un mot égyptien servant à désigner soit le droit de péage, soit le lieu où l'on percevait ce droit, et comme ψιτε, T. ψι† M., *Exigere, repetere pretium*, ⲡⲱⲧⲟⲩ SHITOU, répond à ce sens, je pense que Πψοτε, ou

* Ce nom vient du mot *Dalgeh*, qu'on a retourné comme ont coutume de le faire les *fellâh*."

† Jomard, *Description de l'Heptanomide*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, pp. 312-314.

‡ Voir sur cette ville Et. Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques*, sqq., dont l'opinion, adoptée par Champollion, *l'Egypte sous les* r. 182, sqq., a passé chez tous les Egyptologues.

§ Strabon, l. XVII, p. 800.

sans l'article $\Upsilon\Omega\Upsilon\epsilon$, est l'originale de $\Sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$, et que Schedia d'Agatharchide est le $\Upsilon\Omega\Upsilon\epsilon$ des Coptes, l'Abshadéh d'aujourd'hui. La division moderne du village répond peut-être à une division ancienne: de même qu'il y avait sur le Nil deux Gardes, l'Hermopolitaine et la Thébaine, il y avait sur le Bahr-Yousouf deux Schediæ, dans lesquels on exécutait les mêmes opérations de douane. La raison de fisc qui avait décidé la création des *Gardes* rendait en effet nécessaire la création de ces Schediæ. Les *Gardes* commandaient l'une le Nil, l'autre l'entrée du canal, qui mène à Tanis; mais il aurait été inutile de surveiller ces points, si on laissait les bateaux circuler librement de Siout à Oxyrrhynchos par le Bahr-Yousouf, et tourner, au moins pendant les hautes eaux les ports du Nil. Il fallait, pour compléter le système, établir une douane sur le Bahr-Yousouf, et le site d'Abshadéh était des mieux choisis. Il se trouve en effet au-delà du point où le canal de Tanis, le Menhi, vient rejoindre le Bahr-Yousouf, de plus au nord d'Hermopolis: les bateaux qui auraient essayé de faire la contrebande par cette voie, étaient donc arrêtés au passage, et forcés de payer, comme ceux qui descendaient le grand bras. Si Schedia-Pshoti n'eut pas la valeur des *Gardes*, c'est que le Bahr-Yousouf, difficile à naviguer en tout temps, et impraticable à la navigation pendant une partie de l'année, n'a jamais été le véhicule que d'un commerce assez restreint: le gros du trafic s'écoulait par le Nil. Si le texte d'Agatharchide n'a pas été altéré ou mal compris par Photius, nous devons croire qu'au II^e siècle avant notre ère, ces postes de douane avaient été jugés assez importants pour qu'on en fit un gouvernement spécial, qui s'interposait entre l'Hermopolitain et le Lycopolites, et, s'étendant de Schedia aux *Gardes*, barrait la vallée dans toute sa largeur. La durée de ce nome, s'il exista vraiment, ne se prolongea pas au-delà de la période ptolémaïque.

Le $\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\ \Upsilon\mu\epsilon\omega\tau\tau$ des Coptes est évidemment le Dérout Ashmoun دروت اشمون ou Dérout Ommen-nakhléh ام النخله دروت moderne* que Jomard identifiait, sans raison je crois, avec la garde Hermopolitaine. C'était un  DIROTI, TIROTI, comme DÉROUT esh-shérif, mais nous ne le trouvons pas mentionné dans les textes hiéroglyphiques. Les papyrus de l'Archiduc Régner† citent encore des villages que je ne sais où placer $\Pi\text{C}\text{O}\text{V}\text{B}\text{A}\text{I}$ ou $\Psi\text{O}\text{V}\text{B}\text{A}\text{I}$,

* Champollion, *l'Égypte aux Temps Pharaoniques*, T. I, pp. 297-298.

† Krall, dans les *Mittheilungen*, 1887, pp. 65-66.

Psoubai,    Aginé, qui peut-être a donné naissance au nom    Abou Ginnéh d'un Ouady qui s'ouvre sur la rive droite du Nil, presque à la frontière méridionale du nome. Je passerai rapidement sur les villes et villages situés de ce côté du fleuve. La ville de Khouniatonou fut appelée par ce prince             KHOUT-ni-ATONOU, mais nous ignorons le nom qu'elle avait auparavant et qui différerait peut-être de celui de Psinaula, sous lequel elle est mentionnée à l'époque romaine;* Quatremère y a reconnu en toute sûreté le                        des écrivains coptes.† Je n'insisterai pas non plus sur Antinoé, qui fut distraite du nome d'Hermopolis et forma une circonscription indépendante: le nom de Besa, que cette ville portait avant Hadrien, ne nous est encore connu par aucune inscription hiéroglyphique. Pescla, étant située à Deyr,‡ était en dehors du nome d'Hermopolis, et n'en fit partie que fort tard, lorsqu'il engloba une partie du nome de l'IOTF-inférieur. Præsentia, où campait la *Legio Tertia Diocletiana*, était au sud d'Hermopolis: c'était sans doute pour fermer la voie qui s'enfonce à travers le désert, et alors la position qui conviendrait le mieux serait celle de Kom-Rekab                ou de Kom-el-Kharbéh                sur le canal de Menhi, presque au débouché de ce canal dans le Bahr-Yousouf.§ Le nom est d'ailleurs complètement latin d'apparence, et on ne peut guères deviner s'il cache ou non une vieille désignation égyptienne. Enfin, Quatremère a montré que le nom                                n'est pas, comme Champollion le pensait, un nom de village, mais un nom d'homme; c'est donc à tort que Brugsch l'a rapproché du nom                       Sabou-oïrou, où                       s ne saurait répondre a                                et qui d'ailleurs appartient à une contrée et à une catégorie de noms différentes de celles qui nous occupent. Il ne l'a pas maintenue du reste dans son *Dictionnaire*. ¶

* Jomard, *Description de l'Heptanomide*, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 308, sqq.

† Et. Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques*, T. I, pp. 42-43, et *Observations*, p. 35; Krall, dans les *Mittheilungen*, pl. 87, p. 65.

‡ Jomard, dans la *Description*, p. 304, sqq.

§ Jomard, dans la *Description*, T. IV, p. 313.

¶ Et. Quatremère, *Observations*, pp. 33-34; Champollion, *l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, T. I, p. 287.

¶ Brugsch, *Géogr. Ins.*, T. I, p. 222; *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 673. De même le nom qu'il lit *Ta-roud* et qu'il identifie avec               

Peut-être pourrait-on retrouver sur le site de Nefs-Ashmounéin, l'endroit précis où était le tertre    Qaï de Khmounou, célèbre dans les traditions mythologiques ; mais une discussion sur la topographie de cette ville m'entraînerait trop loin. Je renonce de même à rechercher pour le moment le site probable de deux ou trois   châteaux mentionnés à Sheikh-Said, à Bershéh, et à Béni-Hassan, et que je crois avoir appartenu au nome du Lièvre. Il me suffit d'avoir fixé brièvement les limites du nome originel et d'y avoir placé sur le terrain un certain nombre des villages que nous savons y avoir été compris.

§ 20. Le texte du *Papyrus Anastasi No. IV*, dont j'ai publié la transcription au § 8 de ces *Notes*, contient un nom de scribe dont le premier groupe peut se lire, dans l'écriture un peu lourde du manuscrit, soit  MÂ soit  NA. J'avais adopté la première lecture guidé par l'analogie du nom    MÂHOU* fréquent à partir de la XX^e dynastie, et j'avais transcrit    MÂHIHOU, dont il n'y avait jusqu'alors aucun exemple. J'ai trouvé récemment sur un monument du musée de Leyde la mention d'un certain    NAHIHOU ;† c'est, avec un renversement, le même qu'on lit    dans Lepsius.‡ Il faut donc remplacer dans ma transcription    Mâhihou par    Nahihou : c'est NAHIHOU que s'appelait le scribe dont il est question au *Papyrus Anastasi No. IV*.

* Lieblein, *Dictionnaire des Noms Hiéroglyphiques*, p. 262, No. 763, etc.

† Leemanns, *Monuments*, II^e partie, pl. XVI, 67a.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, pl. 240 ; *cfr.* Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, p. 317, No. 984.



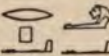
LE TITRE *AHEMS-N-KIP*.

PAR VICTOR LORET.

Je viens de lire avec un vif intérêt, dans les *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*,* l'article très documenté que M. E. Lefébure a consacré à l'étude du titre ; j'ai même lu cet article avec d'autant plus de plaisir que j'ai moi-même étudié le titre en question, il y a une dizaine années, et que j'étais arrivé au même résultat, ou à peu près, que mon érudit collègue d'Alger.

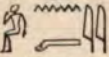
Mon étude faisait partie du premier livre d'un travail d'ensemble sur les monuments du règne d'Aménophis III, travail qui depuis sept ou huit ans est plus qu'à moitié rédigé, mais que l'entraînement vers d'autres recherches m'a empêché jusqu'à présent de terminer et de livrer à l'impression.

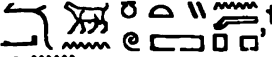
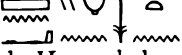
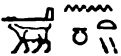
Je donne ici,—me gardant à dessein d'y rien remanier, malgré les inadvertances que je suis le premier à y remarquer,—les quelques pages de mon manuscrit qui sont relatives au titre *ahems-n-kip*:

" Ces nourriciers avaient le grade de  et de *Ptérôphores* à la droite du roi. Deux des titres qu'ils portent,  , sont curieux sous plus d'un rapport et méritent d'être étudiés spécialement.

"9. Le mot principal est , *kip*,† dérivé du radical , , *cacher, abriter, couvrir* (κλπ, κωπ, χεπ). Les mots coptes ΚΗΠΕ, *καμάρα*, *chambre voûtée*, et ΧΗΠΙ, *στέγη*, *toit*,

* Vol. XIII, June, 1891, pp. 447-469.

† "La lecture  me semble certaine; comparez le copte ΣΟΠ, *ὀπλή*, *regula*, avec le signe  qui représente un doigt d'animal à la griffe recourbée. La vocalisation *i* est prouvée par la forme complète  que j'ai rencontrée deux fois. V. LORET, *Les stat. fun. du Mus. de Boulaq*, Nos. 36 et 96 (*Rec.*, IV, pp. 89 et suiv.)."

tous deux vocalisés par un H de même que  l'est par un , semblent être les formes modernes de l'ancien *kip* qui désignerait, par conséquent, une salle *cachée*, ou *destinée à cacher*. Ce sens d'endroit *secret* ou plutôt *intime* nous est prouvé par plusieurs exemples. Amenhotep fils de Hapou, dont on trouvera plus loin les inscriptions complètes, se vante d'avoir eu accès à toute heure auprès du pharaon et d'avoir été l'un des familiers du palais. On trouve, au milieu de ces éloges, la mention , 'il a pu entendre ce qui se disait dans le mystère du *kip*.' Le *kip* avait ses gardiens, qui portaient le titre de , 'chef de l'intérieur du *kip*.' Le mot  est employé pour désigner le centre, la partie secrète, intime, d'une demeure ou d'une administration. On trouve des *mer âkhenhouti* pour la chambre des sceaux, ‡ pour les cabinets des nomarques, § pour le trésor, || mais surtout pour le *kip*; en un mot, ce titre s'applique aux gardiens de tout endroit dont l'accès est absolument défendu, ou accordé difficilement. On rencontre même très souvent des personnages ne portant que le titre , ¶ sans autre spécification. Il s'agit, je crois, dans ce cas, de l'intérieur du *kip*, car c'est le  qui est, de beaucoup, le plus souvent cité. Nous savons par le titre fréquent , ** souvent en corrélation avec , †† et par l'expression  du tombeau de Haq-er-heh, que le *kip* a quelque rapport avec les enfants royaux. Or, un fait qui me semble démontrer que  employé

* A. MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pl. 36, l. 8.

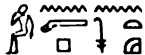
† A. MARIETTE, *Cat. gén. d'Abydos*, Nos. 703, 776, 855, 891, 905.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 588.

§ *Ibid.*, Nos. 764, 889; *Mélanges*, II, 217.

|| *Ibid.*, Nos. 677, 753, 805; CHAMP., *Not. descr.*, II, 691.

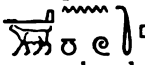
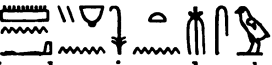
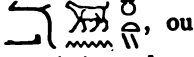
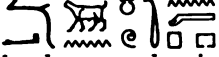
¶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 588, 636, 646, 674, 681, 805, 861, 879; *Mélanges*, III, 14; CHAMP., *Not. descr.*, II, 397, 398.

** *Ibid.*, Nos. 398, 778, 857, 858, 871, 873, 1103; , No. 702.

†† Tombeau de Haq-er-heh; statuette funéraire de Boulaq, No. 96.



SECRET

isolement doit s'entendre de l'intérieur du *kip* est que ce mot *akhennouti*, lui aussi, s'applique particulièrement aux enfants royaux. On voit en effet Sinéh, parvenu au sommet des honneurs, se vanter d'être exalté par le Roi de toute terre, et d'avoir ses enfants admis dans le .* Sinéh était reçu chez le roi, ses enfants étaient reçus chez les princes. *Akhennouti* désigne donc l'endroit où se tenaient les enfants du roi; il en est de même de , qui me paraît répondre au *γυναικεῖον* des Grecs anciens, au *حريم* des Arabes, ou plutôt à la *nursery* des Anglais. Le , c'était la chambre, l'appartement où se tenaient les princes avec leurs nourriciers et leurs gouverneurs. Haq-er-heh  est tout simplement 'nourricier des princes dans la *nursery* royale.' Ce  avait à sa tête, comme on l'a vu, des , ou . L'accès en était difficile, et pénétrer dans la demeure des jeunes princes était considéré comme une rare faveur, dont ceux qui l'avaient obtenue portaient le témoignage avant tout autre titre. Les mots  me paraissent désigner les familiers de la *nursery* royale, ceux qui ont accès auprès des princes enfants. Les enfants de Sinéh pouvaient avoir le droit de se qualifier de . Cela explique aussi pourquoi les  ont toujours le titre de .

"On serait tenté de lire ces mots *kherod-n-kip* et de les traduire par 'enfant de la *nursery*'; il faut les lire *ahems-n-kip* et les traduire par 'admis dans la *nursery*.' Le mot , en effet, souvent déterminé par , † entre dans toute une série de titres ‡ dont le plus fréquent est . § Ce mot *ahems* vient du

* *Mélanges*, III, p. 156.

† *MAR.*, *Cat. d'Abyd.*, No. 873.

‡ *Ibid.*, 872, 873, 879, etc.; *LIEBLEIN*, *Dict. des noms*, No. 407.

§ *Ibid.*, Nos. 778, 872, 905.

"Aménophis III y vécut avec ses frères et y reçut la visite de bien des enfants qui devinrent plus tard de hauts dignitaires du royaume...." *

Et puis, j'avouerais que c'est bien moins le désir de revendiquer quoi que ce soit qui m'a dicté ce petit article, que le plaisir flatteur de m'être trouvé d'accord avec un égyptologue de la valeur de M. E. Lefébure.

LYON, 1 décembre, 1891.

* V. LORET, *L'Égypte au temps des Pharaons; la vie, la science et l'art*, Paris, J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1889, pp. 52-53.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st March, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*):—The Egyptian Book of the Dead. Translation with commentary of Chapter 2, and following.
 - II. J. H. GLADSTONE, Ph.D., F.R.S.:—On Metallic Copper, Tin and Antimony from Ancient Egypt.
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ERRATUM.

Page 100, line 8, *for* Rev. W. M. Tupper, *read* Rev. W. M. Puffer, M.A.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Fifth Meeting, 1st March, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered in the death of one of its original Members, RICHARD CULL, who died on the 12th of January. Mr. Cull always took the greatest interest in the objects and welfare of the Society, and for many years, besides being a regular attendant at the Meetings and joining in the discussions, contributed a number of Papers to its publications. Ill health had for some time prevented his attendance as formerly, but his interest in his favourite studies never ceased, and he was employed on a question connected with the Semitic languages to the last.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From H.I.M. The German Emperor:—Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, &c. Von R. Lepsius. Berlin. Folio. 1849 and foll. Plates to complete the volumes in the Library of the Society.

[No. cvi.]

From Miss Gonino :—History of Art in Persia, from the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez. London. 8vo. 1892.

From Miss Gonino :—History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria and Lycia, from the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez. 8vo. London. 1892.

From the Author, William Dwight Whitney, Professor in Yale University :—Max Müller and the Science of Language, a Criticism. New York. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author, Max Ohnefalsch-Richter :—Die Antiken Cultusstätten auf Kypros. Berlin. 4to. 1891.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 2nd February, 1892, and elected Members of the Society :—

A. W. Valentine Richards, Fern Lea, Low Harrogate.

J. Hunt Cooke (Editor of the *London Freeman*), 60, Coolhurst Road, Crouch End, N.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 5th April, 1892 :—

Charles J. Redshaw, 23, Woodstock Road, Poplar, E.

Harry R. Hall, Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, 13, Chalcot Gardens, N.W.

J. H. Tritton, 36, Queen's Gate Gardens.

Charles Gatehouse, Westwood, Noctorum, Birkenhead.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary of the 2nd and following Chapters.

J. H. Gladstone, Ph.D., F.R.S., read a Paper on "Metallic Copper, Tin and Antimony from Ancient Egypt."

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Prof. Roberts Austen, Dr. Gladstone, and the President.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER I.

(1) *The Beginning of the Chapters of Coming forth by Day, of the (2) Words which bring about Resurrection and Glory, and of Coming out of and entering into Amenta. Said upon the Day of Burial of N, the Victorious (3), who enters after coming forth. (4) Here is N the Victorious. He saith—*

O (5) Bull of Amenta, It is Thoth, the everlasting King, who is here.

I am the great god in the Bark, who have fought for thee.

I am one of those gods, the (6) Powers who effect the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries on the day of the Weighing of the Words: I am thy kinsman, Osiris.

I am one of those gods to whom Nut has given birth, who slay the adversaries of Osiris and imprison the (7) Sebau, on his behalf: I am thy kinsman, Horus.

I have fought for thee, and have prevailed for thy name.

I am Thoth who effect the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries on that day of Weighing of the Words in the (8) House of the Prince, which is in Heliopolis.

I am (9) Tatti, the son of Tatti, conceived in Tattu and born in Tattu; and Tattu is my name.

I am with the mourners and weepers who wail over Osiris in (10) Rechit, and who effect the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries.

Rā issued the mandate to Thoth, that he should effect the triumph of Osiris against his adversaries, and the mandate is what Thoth hath executed.

I am with Horus on the day of covering (11) Teshtesh and of opening the fountains for the refreshment of (12) the god whose heart is motionless, and closing the entrance to the hidden things in (13) Restau.

I am with Horus, as the avenger of that left arm of Osiris which is in (14) Sechem.

I enter and I come forth from the (15) Abode of Flame on the day when the adversaries are annihilated at Sechem.

I am with Horus on the day when the festivals of Osiris are celebrated, and when offerings are made [to Rā], on the Feast of the Sixth day of the Month, and on the Feast of Tenait (16) in Heliopolis.

I am the Priest (17) in Tattu and exalt him who is on the Height (18).

I am the Prophet in Abydos on the day when the earth is raised.

I am he who seeth what is shut up at Restau (19).

I am he who reciteth the liturgies of the (20) Soul who is Lord of Tattu.

I am the Sem-priest in all that pertaineth to his office.

I am the Arch-Craftsman, on the day in which the Ship of Sokaru is laid upon its stocks (21).

I am he who seizeth the mattock, on the day of the Feast of Hoeing in Suten-henen (22).

O ye who bring beneficent souls into the house of Osiris, do ye bring the soul of *N* together with you into the house of Osiris; let him see as you see, let him hear as your hear, let him stand as you stand, and sit as you sit [in the house of Osiris].

O ye who give bread and beer to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, do you give bread and beer at the two periods to the soul of *N* who is with you.

O ye who unclothe the ways and open the roads to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, unclothe then the ways and open the roads to the soul of *N* who is with you, let him enter boldly and come forth in peace at the house of Osiris, without hindrance and without repulse. Let him enter at his pleasure and go forth at his will, triumphantly with you; and let that be executed which he shall order in the house of Osiris.

No lightness of his in the scale has been found and the Balance is (23) relieved of his case.

NOTES.

The text taken for the basis of the translation of Chapter I is that of the papyrus of Huneferu; *Ag* of M. Naville's edition.

i. The title here translated is that usual in all the papyri representing the third period of the text. It occurs however in the papyrus *A.g* of Huneferu, who lived in the days of Seti I, at the beginning of the XIXth dynasty. It is also found in the papyrus of Ani. The most common title of Chapter I in the older manuscripts is , "Chapter of coming to the divine Powers attached to Osiris." These divine Powers are Amsta, Hapi, Tuamauf and Qebehsenuf, the children of Horus, who stand upon the lotus which springs from the water beneath the throne of Osiris, in pictures of the Psychostasia. Chapter 124 bears the same title in the older manuscripts, which sometimes begin with it.

2.                These are two very difficult words, and very different meanings have been assigned to them. But when the entire evidence is examined the result is plain enough. Each of the words has for determinative the sign , expressive of some kind of utterance. It is a *λόγος* of some kind. Each has for its first letter the causative . The question therefore is, what are the meanings of the simpler forms  , *tes*, and  , *hu*?

The most common, indeed the only true, meaning of  is 'rising,' and even 'raising.' This is too well-known to require proof.  is 'causing to rise.' The Pyramid text of Teta says (l. 270), "Horus has given his children that they may raise thee up      .

 In the same religious text, l. 248,  is the *rising from the funereal couch* after the  , the recitations made over the dead.

The 'raising up' or 'resurrection' here spoken of is said not only of the soul but of the body of the deceased person. The papyrus of Nebseni has preserved two chapters, to which M. Naville has assigned the numbers 177 and 178.

There are, it is true, variants in the title of Chapter 17, giving the form . In spite of the excellent authority of these variants, they must be considered as giving an erroneous reading. The words  'remember,' and  are different in origin and meaning. The latter signifies 'confer glory,' and the  are religious formularies recited by priests, identifying the deceased person with Osiris and other divinities. There are numerous pictures in the tombs representing priests performing this office.*

3. M. Déveria has produced excellent evidence showing that  *maât-heru* has the sense of 'victorious, triumphant.' But the sense of *véridique* is untenable.  *heru* is 'voice' not 'speech.' In *Proceedings S.B.A.*, Vol. VI, p. 192, note, I have quoted a passage from a chapter (now numbered 181 in M. Naville's edition) in which  signifies 'want of success, failure.'

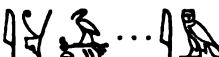
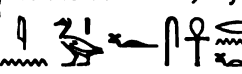
 *maât heru* really signifies "one whose voice is Law." It is essentially a *divine* title (see "Altar at Turin," *Transactions*, III, pl. II, line 10, appended to Mr. Bonomi's article), and in no Egyptian text is it used of mortals supposed to be living. The translation "juste de voix," limits the conception of *maât* to one of its secondary acceptations.

 *semaât heru* is also, and necessarily so, a divine act, that of Thoth; and it is done through his utterances.

4.  *ân* in this place as in very many others is not a preposition, still less is it a verb. It is a demonstrative particle, like the Latin *en*, *ecce*, or the Hebrew . Nothing is more common than this particle followed only by a proper name, *e.g.*, on the funereal figures. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that there is an ellipse of the verb 'saith.' The particle is used like the corresponding Latin one under the Scottish picture of Edward I—

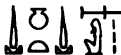
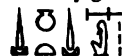
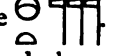
'En rex Edwardus debacchans ut leopardus.'

* See *Denkm.* II, 71 b, 72 a, b, 101 b; cf. 98 h, 116 c, and III, 260 c.

When I translate , "It is Thoth—who is here," I do not wish to imply that  is the verb *to be*, any more than I should in the frequent expression  "It is his son who revives his name."  is a demonstrative particle and nothing else.

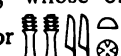
Instead of looking out for moods and tenses and paradigms, Egyptologists ought to wake to the consciousness that the Egyptians never rose to the conception of what we mean by a *verb*.

5. The Bull of Amenta is Osiris. Bull, like Lion or Hawk, was one of the figurative names of gods or kings, and Osiris is sometimes represented with a Bull's head.

6.  *T'a'a(nut)su*, a word often wrongly translated 'judges.' The divine judges might be *ta'ta'(nut)su*, but the proposition is not simply convertible. There were the  not only of Osiris, but (*Todt.*, 22, 2) also of every god and every goddess. And all the ancient towns of Egypt had their divine . It is not a human title, but something analogous to the . In a mythological system like the Egyptian no god stood alone; every god involved others in close connection with himself, and every act of his necessitated corresponding acts on their part.

7. The *sebâu* are the enemies of the *Sun*, either as Râ or Osiris. I believe that under this mythological name the dark clouds are personified.

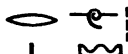
8. *Het Saru*, 'House of the Prince,' is the name of the great Sanctuary at Heliopolis. It must be remembered however that many of the geographical localities named in the Book of the Dead have their counterparts in the Egyptian heaven.

9.  or , the 'firm, stable, unalterable, abiding eternal one,' whose origin and progress are in eternity. The city  or  has a name like the Palestinian  *Gaza*, the 'strong' city, and many other Hebrew names connected with the root .

10. *Rehit*, a locality in the north of Egypt. The mourners and weepers alluded to are chiefly Isis and Nephthys.

11. *Teshtesh* is one of the names of Osiris; perhaps, as might be inferred from a text at Dendera, of his molten image.

12. The god "whose heart is motionless" is Osiris.

13.  *Re-stau*, one of the gates of the Netherworld. Its situation is specified in Chapter 17, line 19.

14. *Sechem*. Letopolis, where the arm of Osiris had been deposited, when the other limbs of the god were dispersed throughout the cities of Egypt.

15. The *Abode of Flame*, as may be inferred from the vignettes of the papyri, is where the sun rises or sets.

16. *Tenait*. Feast of the seventh day of the month.

17. The speaker now assumes the persons of various priests in succession, the  *āh*, the  *hen nutār* (prophet), the  *sem*, and the  *ura herp hem*; * and he describes himself as performing certain religious ceremonies. It must never be forgotten when reading these texts that the Egyptian priests had *divine titles*, and that their ceremonies were dramatic, and symbolical of the acts performed by the gods.

18. The text here is hopelessly corrupt. The translation given follows *Ag*.

Instead of  *exalt*, several MSS. have  which has been rendered *anoint with oil*. One might translate the Turin text, "I lustrate with water in Tattu and with oil in Abydos, exalting him who is in the heights (*in excelsis*)," for this text combines different readings. But , as it is written, may have another meaning.  *beq*, signifies 'clear, bright, shining,' and the olive tree derives its name from this. The determinative

* The evidence produced by W. Max Müller in behalf of this reading of the priestly name is quite convincing.

 and the causative  furnish the sense, 'I make bright, illustrious, glorious,' 'I celebrate or glorify.' 'He is who on the height' (= ) is, according to Chapter 17, the Sun.

19. This is perhaps supposed to be said by the priest called  , the 'Arch-seer,' at Heliopolis.

20. One of the designations of Osiris. Perhaps the word *Ba* should be translated Ram, for in the Mendesian Nome Osiris was worshipped under this form, and was called    *heru sefi*, 'god of the strong face.' The fact is that whether applied to the *soul* or to a *ram*, the word *ba* is expressive of 'power, force.' The same word under the form     is used in Chapter 120, 2 (= 12, 2) in the sense of 'splitting up.' And this is clearly the Egyptian concept of the soul—'the internal force, that which works within us,' τὸ ἐνεργεῖον.

21. The   *sem*, and the   *ura herp hem*, were priests in the service of Ptah. The latter, who held perhaps the highest sacerdotal office in Egypt, as high priest of Ptah at Memphis, is repeatedly found combining with his own special office that of the *sem*. The ceremony which is here referred to consisted in a grand procession round the walls of the great sanctuary of Ptah, conveying upon a sledge the bark  in which the coffin of the god was supposed to rest. Sokaru signifies 'the confined,' and Ptah Sokaru is only a form of Osiris. Abundant details of the ceremony will be found in the plates of M. Mariette's *Abydos*, I, pl. 36 and following. The king Seti I is represented as a Sem priest presiding at the festival.

22.    *Suten-henen* was called by the Greeks Heracleopolis.

23. Or 'rid of his business.' The word   *sep*, 'turn,' the different significations of the Latin 'vices.'

In the later recensions this chapter is lengthened out by other petitions. The deceased asks, among other things, to appear "before thee, O Lord of the gods, to attain the region of *Maat*, may I rise up a living god, let me shine like the divine host which

is in heaven, let me be as one of you. Let my steps be lifted up in Cher-âbut. Let me see the ship* of the holy Sahu [Orion], traversing the sky; let me not be prevented from seeing the lords of the Tuat [the Netherworld], smelling the fragrance of the sacrificial offerings made to the divine host, and sitting with them. Let the Cher-heb [the priestly ministrant] make invocation over my coffin. Let me hear the prayers of propitiation. Let the divine ship Neshemet advance for me, let not my soul and its possessor suffer repulse."

An invocation to Osisis follows.

"Hail to thee, Prince of Amenta, Osiris, lord of Nifura; grant that I may advance in peace towards Amenta, and that the Lords of Tasert may receive me and say to me, 'Salutation! Salutation! in Peace!' let them make for me a seat by the Prince of the divine Powers, let the two Chenemta goddesses [Isis and Nephthys] receive me, in presence of Unneferu, the Victorious. Let me be a follower of Horus in Re-stau, and of Osiris in Tattu. Let me assume all forms for the satisfaction of my heart in every place that my Genius [Ka] wisheth."

The following rubric is found as early as the XIXth dynasty in connection with this chapter, but it seems to have originally been attached to Chapter 72.

"If this discourse is learnt upon earth, or is written upon the coffin, he (the deceased) may come forth upon every day that he pleaseth and again enter his house without impediment. And there shall be given to him bread and beer and flesh meat upon the table of Râ: he shall receive allotment in the Fields of Aarru [the Elysian fields of Egyptian mythology], and there shall be given to him there wheat and barley, for he shall be flourishing as when he was upon earth."

Chapter 1 is followed in M. Naville's edition by another, which the learned editor calls 1 B. This chapter is found in so very few copies that the text cannot as yet be restored. The two texts published by M. Naville differ widely from each other. It was known however down to the Roman period, though not inserted into copies of the Book of the Dead.

* This is one of the meanings of , but in this place it may simply mean 'going round in a ship.'

It is called *Chapter of introducing the Mummy into the Tuat on the day of burial*. The 124th chapter bears a similar title. The word here translated mummy is probably not to be understood of the visible mummy, but of the living personality which it enclosed. The chapter opens with an invocation, "Hail to thee, who art in the sacred region of Amenta, the Osiris, [the deceased] knows thee and thy name, defend him from those Worms which are in Restau, who live upon the flesh of men and swallow their blood." The names of the Worms were given, but in consequence of the gaps in the text they cannot now be recovered. The chapter finished with prayers in which the deceased identifies himself with Horus, who has taken possession of the throne which his father has given him; he has taken possession of heaven, and inherited the earth, and neither heaven nor earth shall be taken from him, for he is Râ, the eldest of the gods. His mother suckles him and offers him her breast, which is on the horizon at Dawn.



ON METALLIC COPPER, TIN AND ANTIMONY FROM ANCIENT EGYPT.

BY J. H. GLADSTONE, PH.D., F.R.S.

In the paper "On Copper and Bronze of Ancient Egypt and Assyria," which I had the honour of reading before the Society, and which was published in the *Proceedings* for March, 1890, there was given, among other things, analyses of metallic tools which had been found by Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egyptian houses at Kahun, and which date back to the XIIth dynasty. At that time (about B.C. 2500) flint tools were still extensively used, and the principal interest of these knives, chisels, hammers, etc., was that they were made of metallic copper. In most cases the copper was in combination with small quantities of tin, antimony or arsenic; but whether this admixture was intentionally made in order to harden them, or whether the constituents were together in the original ores, there is nothing to show. In one instance, however, the tin amounted to 2 per cent.

Subsequently Mr. Petrie showed me a large number of corroded needles from the same place, and some of these bent like copper, while others were hard and brittle.

We chose one of the hardest, and on analysis it proved to contain 10 per cent. of tin, and traces of antimony and arsenic. It is therefore a bronze in which the tin and copper have about the same proportions as is generally found in ancient bronze, or in modern gunmetal.

But last summer Mr. Petrie kindly gave me some specimens of copper which he had found in Meydum, and which he believes to date back to the IVth dynasty, or at least to the VIth.

When examined in my laboratory by Mr. Hibbert and myself, they gave the following results:—

No. I. Described as "From a broken piece of an adze, Meydum, certainly early, probably IVth dynasty."

The broken face was very uniformly granulated, while the outer surfaces were dark red as from cuprous oxide. The specimen consisted almost entirely of metallic copper. Only 0·38 per cent. of arsenic was found, with traces of antimony and iron. There was some sulphur, no doubt from imperfect reduction of the ore, but no phosphorus was detected, nor any tin.

No. II. "Borings from an adze, of the IVth dynasty probably, but certainly of the old kingdom (IV-V-VIth). From well of Rahotep. Meydum."

This again was almost solely copper. 0·54 per cent. of arsenic was found, with traces of antimony, iron, sulphur, and probably phosphorus; but here also there was no tin.

No. III. "Filings from a broken tip of a pick, found fixed by stalagmite in an unopened tomb of IVth dynasty, at Gizeh. 1881."

This was too small in amount to be examined with accuracy. It consisted however of copper with a little arsenic, and a trace of what may have been either tin or antimony.

No. IV. "Piece of copper rod found deep down in foundation filling of Mastaba 17, N.W. corner. Meydum. IVth dynasty."

This consists of an internal core and a dark outer ring. When examined under the microscope, the core was found to consist of miscellaneous granules, very various in colour. The outer portion was also heterogeneous, containing red suboxide spotted with green and patches of blue. A piece taken right across was found to contain the large amount of 8·4 per cent. of tin, with merely traces of antimony, arsenic and iron. No phosphorus was detected. A piece of the inner core was then examined, and gave:—

	Per cent.		
Copper	...	...	89·8
Tin	...	...	9·1
Arsenic	...	...	0·5 (about)

With traces of antimony, iron and sulphur.

There was also a residue insoluble in nitric acid, which consisted of very minute particles. When viewed under the microscope, some of these were amber coloured and semi transparent; others almost black and opaque, and a few colourless, having the appearance of quartz. On treating these with aqua regia, the two former kinds almost wholly disappeared, leaving what appeared to be siliceous skeletons. It was impossible to determine what minerals these were in so minute a quantity. No doubt they came from the original ore.

The first three specimens evidently resemble the "copper tools" found at Kahun. But far more interesting is the fourth, about which Mr. Petrie has given me the following particulars:—

"The astonishing matter is the rod of bronze; and you will naturally wish to know what ground there is for attributing it to the IVth dynasty. I have recorded that it was found deep down in the filling of the foundation of Mastaba 17. That mastaba was built contemporaneously with Seneferu's pyramid, as it is formed—internally—of the clean masons' chips from the pyramid. The foundation was filled around with the same chips, and this point at the N.W. corner is about twenty feet under the surface. Certainly that ground had never been disturbed since the days of Seneferu. I see that the adherent material is sand mainly, and this agrees with its being found at the bottom of this filling up, as most of the filling was of clean chips and flakes without any dust. It shows also contact with chips of limestone. The only chance against it is that it might have fallen in accidentally during the working from the surface. Against this, the sides of the hole were nearly all of brick wall; there had never been any subsequent work done about there in later times, the mastaba having merely decayed by denudation; and the appearance of the piece is strongly against its having lain on the surface or where much moisture could reach it. All the buried *bronzes* that I know are more corroded than this, and it must have been in a very dry and out of the way place not to have been more altered by oxidation. The external and internal evidence therefore agree as to the age of it."

There is another interest also connected with these specimens of copper. For Seneferu was perhaps the most ancient of the kings of Egypt about whom we have really trustworthy information, and one of his exploits, as engraved on the rocks, was invading the Sinaitic peninsula and capturing the copper and turquoise mines, which were afterwards worked by the Egyptians for many centuries.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez, in their "*Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*," I, p. 829, express their belief that about the Vth or VIth dynasty the Egyptians possessed the secret for making bronze. This opinion is founded upon the style of art of certain bronze statuettes, but Mr. Petrie's rod appears to be of still greater antiquity, say the beginning of the IVth dynasty (about B.C. 3700).

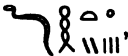
A comparison of the results obtained from Kahun and Medum establish the fact that for many centuries the Egyptians used at the same time implements of flint, of impure copper, and of bronze. We see here the overlapping of three ages in the art of fabrication of tools. The occasional use of flint implements appears to have extended to at least the XVIIIth dynasty.

TIN.

We do not know whence the Egyptians obtained their tin in early times, nor can we tell whether it was reduced to the metallic condition from its ores before admixture with the copper, or whether the tinstone was added to the copper ore before smelting. It is clear, however, that metallic tin was known and highly prized at a date anterior to the Homeric poems.

Mr. Petrie has in his possession an ancient Egyptian finger ring which he believed to be made of tin. He gave me a small fragment which proved to be in fact of that metal. I tested in vain for copper, lead, silver or gold, nor did it appear to contain either antimony or arsenic. The tin however contained small dark coloured particles insoluble in nitric acid, which I satisfied myself were black oxide, indicating that the reduction of the ore had not been complete.

Professor A. H. Church, F.R.S., describes in the *Chemical News*, 1877, p. 168, a piece of white metal having the outline of a winged scarabæus, which was found resting on the breast of a mummy brought from Egypt by Lord Eustace Cecil, and which is believed to date from 600 to 700 years B.C. It proved on analysis to be pure tin.

It is not known for certain whether tin occurs in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. In the last edition of Wilkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians" (II, 232), it is stated by Birch that a metal is mentioned in more than one inscription, which is written  (*t'ehi*). One of these is in the great Harris papyrus containing the annals of Rameses III. He translates the passage, "tin figures of the Nile;" but there seems some doubt as to the metal meant. The word closely resembles  (*t'akt*), which is the Coptic for lead.

ANTIMONY.

At the same time Mr. Petrie gave me two or three small beads, which when broken across were evidently formed of a crystalline metal, which he supposed to be antimony. On chemical examination this also was found to be the case. No other metal was present, but a good deal of sulphur, arising no doubt from the imperfect reduction of the sulphide.

It is well known that stibium was used for blacking the eyebrows of the ancient Egyptians. It is also known that antimony was reduced in ancient times from its ore. M. Oppert indeed found at Khorsabad a tablet of metallic antimony, and M. Sarzec found at Tello part of a vase of pure antimony; but as far as I am aware no ancient metallic antimony had previously been found in Egypt.

REMARKS.

Prof. Roberts Austen stated that he considered the paper to be one of unusual interest. Hitherto he had thought that the use of bronze implements and ornaments must have been very limited in Greece before the date of Schliemann's "third City," that is Homer's Troy, 1200 B.C., but Mr. Flinders Petrie's "find" at Medum and Dr. Gladstone's analysis of the rod of metal, proved that the use of bronze in Egypt went back to 3700 B.C., and that not only was bronze used, but bronze of a type common to much later periods, the ratio of the copper to the tin being as 9 : 1.

With regard to the interesting question did the Egyptians add metallic tin to the copper, or did they merely add tin ore to the charge in the copper smelting furnace? Prof. Roberts Austen thought that most probably metallic tin was used. The amounts of tin found by analysis seemed to be too definite to have been the result of what would have been a more or less haphazard addition of ore. Moreover, the conditions of the old copper smelting operations must have been more or less sulphurizing and not favourable to the simultaneous reduction of tin from *its oxide*, though, no doubt, if the copper ore were roasted "very sweet," that is, if the sulphur were burnt off so as to leave oxide of copper, the oxide of copper might have been reduced with oxide of

tin by carbon so as to give a bronze. He did not, however, think that it was so.

The question then arises, if the ancient metallurgists could reduce tin-oxide to metal, which is not an easy operation, and demands a high temperature, why could they not reduce oxide of iron to metallic iron? This is hardly more difficult, and he believed that they had both iron and steely-iron but did not value it as highly as bronze, as the methods of manipulating it by forging and hardening were imperfectly known.

With regard to the vase of antimony found at Tello, the curious point about it is that we only know antimony at the present day as a highly brittle and crystalline metal, which could hardly be fashioned into a useful vase, and therefore this remarkable "find" must represent the lost art of rendering antimony malleable.



𐩔𐩠, *au* (=  *wua*), a aussi parfois un autre sens, celui d'hérédité, héritage ou héritier. Les *au nchi* seraient ainsi les droits héréditaires sur les mesures en question.

(9) Pour ce bourg de Magdol, situé dans le quartier ouest de Thèbes, dans le nome Pathyrithe, il faut consulter le papyrus 1^{er} des "Actenstake aus der Koenigichenbank zu Theben" de Wilcken. Le papyrus grec en question place le bourg Μαγδωλων dans la même toparchie Thébaine. En démotique le mot prend l'article, qui remplace peut-être $\Lambda = \square$ *pa*.

(10) Le mot employé ici est celui qu'on trouve en tête de deux transactions judiciaires devant le tribunal de Thèbes : "Nous avons fait *arrangement* avec toi devant les juges des prêtres d'Amon (ou devant les juges qui jugent à Thèbes) au sujet de etc." Voir *Revue Egyptologique*, III, 1, pl. 3 et 5.

(11) Dans les arrangements judiciaires dont il est question plus haut (note précédente) le verbe *ma* ou *mak*, "justifier," est employé dans la phrase : "Les juges t'ont donné justice contre moi." (Voir *ibidem*.)

(12) L'établissement sur pieds, l'investissement judiciaire est l'aboutissant de la procédure de justification ci-dessus décrite.

(13) Il est étrange que cet enregistrement grec soit daté du mois de tybi de l'an 13, tandis que l'acte démotique est daté du mois de tybi de l'an 12. On aurait pu croire que l'enregistrement était postérieur d'un an juste à la confection de l'acte. Mais, plus loin, à la ligne 8 de ce même enregistrement grec, la même date "tybi de l'an 13" est attribuée à notre contrat de vente égyptien de la façon la plus expresse : *κατά συγγραφὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ὧν ἡς ἦν ἱγράψατο αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τριτῷ τοῦ 13*. Le même écart entre l'an 12 du texte et l'an 13 de l'enregistrement se remarque dans un autre contrat Thébain de Philopator, qui se trouve à Bologne.

(14) Il faut sous-entendre *γῆς* avant *ἀρούρων*.

(15) *ἡ* se rapporte au mot *γῆ* sous-entendu.

(16) Ce nom géographique est une transcription en lettres grecques du terme égyptien composé "Pset(n) Amen Api," qui signifie "le morceau, la part d'Amen-api" (dans le *neterhotep* d'Amon).

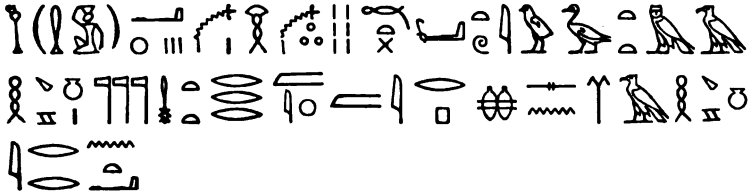
(17) *ἡν* se rapporte à *γῆ* sous-entendu, comme le faisait déjà *ἡ* à la ligne précédente.

(18) Le mot *χαλκοῦ* se trouve écrit ici en abrégé, avec un trait coupant la barre inférieure de la lettre *κ* pour indiquer cette abréviation.

(19) Après la particule *ἡ* le mot *ἀλλαγῆς* se trouve réduit ici à sa première lettre, à son *α* initial, comme cela se présente souvent quand il est question du cuivre dont on doit faire le change : *χαλκοῦ οὐ ἀλλαγῆ*. Amédée Peyron en a cité plusieurs exemples, notamment dans son papyrus de Zoïs. L'*α* initial porte ici un trait, qui sert de marque d'abréviation, comme dans notre enregistrement le trait semblable du mot *χαλκ*. Ce mode d'abréviation s'est conservé jusque très tard en copte. Dans d'autres documents, l'abréviation est indiquée par la superposition d'un *λ* au dessus de l'*α*.

(20) Ce nom doit être rapproché de *Ἀθηνίων*, qui figure, dans la liste des morts cédés à Osoroer par son père Horus, dans le papyrus Casati (voir Papyrus grecs du Louvre, p. 133). La forme *Ἀθηνίων* est mieux connue.

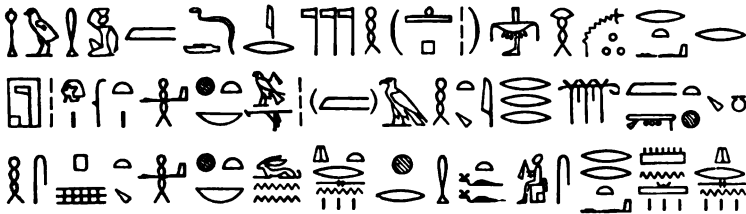
(21) Dans une très mauvaise photographie de la stèle 5576 de Boulaq contenant une version hiéroglyphique d'une nouvelle repromulgation du décret de Rosette faite en l'an 23 d'Epiphane, photographie qui a été publiée par Bouriant dans le *Recueil* de Maspero, vol. VI, No. 1, je crois déchiffrer pour ce passage :



"ordonna (sa Majesté) : la mesure *a* des blés exigés par aroure des dieux et semblablement la mesure de leur vin par aroure de vigne (resteront) dans leurs mains (S ou S)."

Il y a quelques mots douteux ici ; mais ce qui est bien certain sur la stèle, c'est la mention deux fois répétée du mot aroure, rendu une fois par     (CETEIOE) et l'autre fois par   (EIOE).

(22) Ce passage est traduit dans la stèle 5576 de Boulaq citée déjà plus haut :



"Ordonna sa Majesté en disant : les *neter hotep* d'or ou de blé qui sont donnés aux sanctuaires chaque année, et toutes les choses (les biens) des dieux en terre de vignes, terres de jardins du domaine (sacré), et toutes choses (tous biens) appartenant à eux sous la Majesté de son père auguste, (ordonna sa Majesté) de les faire laisser à eux (sous eux)."

Ici le mot *ok* () du démotique a deux traductions, la 1^{re} est sa transcription hiéroglyphique   (EIOE) "champs ;" la 2^e son synonyme  (*to*), "terre."

Il faut remarquer que cette version hiéroglyphique a été trouvée bien des années après la publication de mes mot-à-mot de la version démotique du décret de Rosette, qu'elle vient absolument confirmer. J'ajouterai même que pour la restitution de cette version hiéroglyphique on aurait bien fait de se baser partout sur mes mot-à-mot démotiques. Cela aurait évité bien des erreurs. Je reviendrai bientôt la dessus dans un travail spécial. Citons seulement les phrases qui précèdent immédiatement celle que nous venons de reproduire et qui doivent, d'après les mot-à-mot démotiques publiés p. 11 et suiv. de ma *Chrestomathie*, être lues et

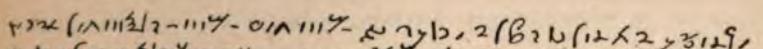
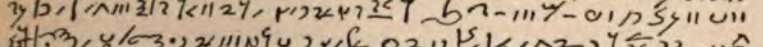
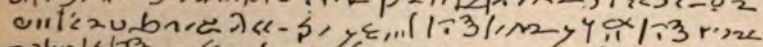
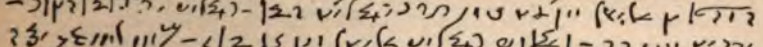
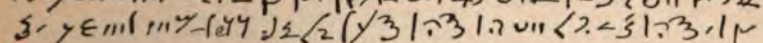
traduites de la façon suivante au lieu d'être restituées et comprises comme elles le sont p. 7 et suiv. du *Recueil* déjà cité.



“Voici que sa Majesté, avec un cœur généreux (mot-à-mot : à l'état de Δ généreux) envers les dieux, donna beaucoup d'or, beaucoup de blé aux temples. Il fit des présents nombreux pour la tranquillité de l'Égypte (Δ est pour Δ ou Δ = c- $\sigma\rho\alpha\epsilon\tau$, comme le prouve d'ailleurs le démotique portant : *etixep skene* = כֶּמֶס *keme*), pour rétablir solidement (*stat*) les temples (*xent*). Le démotique porte ici : *esmen naarpiu*. Il donna cadeaux (*ast*) aux soldats (*ast* Δ Δ Δ Δ) qui étaient en sa grande puissance quels qu'ils fussent). L'impôt (Δ Δ = $\epsilon\omega\tau$ *tributum*, et dans la version démotique de Rosette, Δ Δ Δ *photi*) et la redevance (Δ Δ Δ est écrit fautivement ici pour Δ Δ Δ = *sakar* qui dans la version démotique est écrit Δ Δ Δ *skar* = Δ Δ Δ = Δ Δ Δ = Δ que le roi avait imposés (mot-à-mot : “frappés” Δ Δ Δ Δ).

var. de  et  sur les deux pays, quels qu'ils soient
 ( =  ou ) quantité (, répété comme en démotique)
 il fit diminution () en eux; quantité (, il supprima, ou "abattit"
 ( =  ou  de l'inscription des Snefru—à moins qu'on ne
 préfère supposer oubliés les mots  avant  en eux, pour
 faire être les soldats (*sic*), et tous les êtres, en ordre ( = )
 en son temps ( le disque a été ici remplacé fautivement
 par , par sa force ( = ) en tranquillité
 ( voir plus haut). Les redevances ( = ,
 dont j'ai depuis longtemps précisé le sens de *demande* dans ma *Revue Egyptologique*, et qui traduit ici ce qu'on *redemande*, les *redevances*—car la version
 démotique porte *ten* qui a toujours cette signification dans Rosette et les autres
 textes) des hommes d'Egypte et les dettes ( =  =
 signifie proprement tout ce qui a été retranché et tout ce qui
 manque) de tous ceux qui sont en sa grande puissance dans sa totalité—sa
 Majesté les mit à terre (les supprima), alors qu'elles faisaient chose si grande que
 point chose comparable à leur quantité. Il protégea les prisonniers (les pris) qui
 étaient en prison, rejetant ( =  = ) toute
 personne d'entre eux—(désormais) en repos—loin de tout ce qu'ils avaient fait
 etc."

Voici ce que porte le texte démotique:—

" Etant son cœur généreux envers les dieux, il fit (être) argents nombreux, blés nombreux aux temples d'Egypte, faisant dépenses nombreuses pour faire être la tranquillité en Egypte, pour rétablir les temples. Il fit cadeaux aux forts (aux guerriers), qui dans toute sa puissance suprême. L'impôt (*hoti*), la redevance (*shar*) qui étaient établis en Egypte, une quantité (*ouon*) il en supprima, une quantité (*ouon*) il (leur en) céda le dessus, pour faire être le peuple (ou les troupes, car le

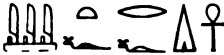
un quart de coudée cube, chaque coudée cube représentant 4 artabes, le *ten* égale une mesure ayant pour base un carré de deux coudées de côté (c'est-à-dire un peu plus d'un mètre) et pour hauteur une coudée. Sa contenance totale est donc d'un peu plus de la moitié de notre mètre cube, tandis que le *ΛΑΒΙΤΕ* de l'époque copte contiendrait un peu plus de notre mètre cube.

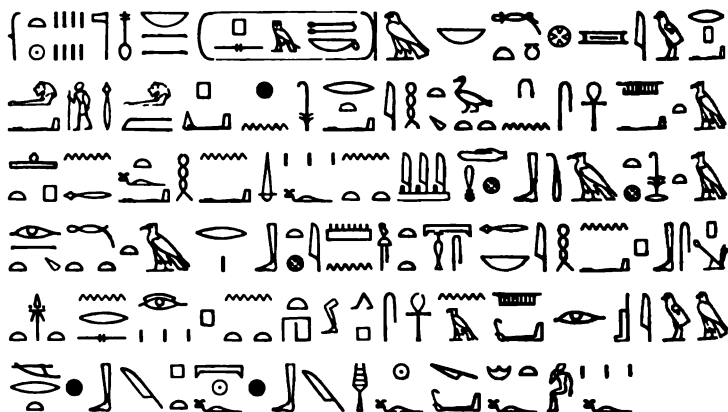
Je corrige à ce point de vue une petite erreur qui m'a échappé dans le premier des comptes du papyrus Passalacqua. Dans ces comptes intervient sans cesse la préposition *ten* "par," fort bien traduite d'ordinaire par moi, mais que j'avais réunie une fois au signe des mesures de manière à en faire la mesure *ten*. Cette erreur ne change du reste rien au calcul. Mais il ne faut admettre dans le texte de ce papyrus que la mesure principale, mesure *a* ou artabe, son sixième, le *ΟΠΟΙΕ* et "la mesure nouvelle," probablement quelque médinne grecque contenant 9 *ΟΠΟΙΕ* au lieu de 6.

Quant à la proportion comparative de l'artabe ou mesure *a* et des autres unités métrologiques, je l'ai longuement établie dans le numéro 11 de la 2^e année de la *Revue Egyptologique*, dans lequel j'ai expliqué l'ensemble des poids, mesures, et monnaies égyptiens et hébraïques, (voir au sujet des mesures mes articles sur: *Les Données Métrologiques des prêts de blé*, pp. 150 et suiv.; *La Tenue des Livres*, pp. 154 et suiv.; *La Vateur de l'Huile*, pp. 162 et suiv.; *Les Mesures de Capacité*, pp. 165 et suiv.; *La Comparaison des Mesures Egyptiennes et Hébraïques*, pp. 187 et suiv.)—ensemble complété, depuis (IV, IV, 193-194) à l'aide d'une découverte confirmative, à moi étrangère.

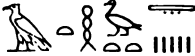
Le système des mesures de capacité avait pour unités principales primitives, en Egypte, en Judée, et en Chaldée: 1^o le *חומר* (*chomer*) ou grand gomor des métrologistes grecs comprenant dix *ephas*, et équivalant à 5 artabes ptolémaïques; 2^o le *gur* (cor chaldéen) identique à la mesure sacrée des contrats ptolémaïques Thébains, à la mesure appelée *cor* dans les papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine publiés par Wessely et à la mesure *ardeb* des arabes d'Egypte comprenant 5 *pi* chaldéens ou éphas hébreux; 3^o le double épha, ou artabe ptolémaïque ou mesure *a* des textes démotiques (dont le double était la grande mesure *𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏* de Chabas); 4^o l'*apet* ou *ape* *𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏* ou *pi* chaldéen ou *𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏* *épha* hébreu; 5^o le *hin* (*𐤇𐤍*) hébreu, grand hin des métrologistes grecs, hin des contrats démotiques,—s'assimilant au *χouc* des papyrus grecs,—(qu'il faut bien se garder de confondre avec le petit hin égyptien de Chabas, que les mêmes métrologistes grecs nomment *ινιον* et qu'ils comparent au *ξιστης*): grand hin formant le 6^e de l'épha—et le double de la mesure fractionnaire ptolémaïque assimilée par nous au *ΟΠΟΙΕ* copte—et dont on retrouve également la contenance dans une mesure divisionnaire chaldéenne: 6^o le *qa* chaldéen, *𐤒𐤓* *qab* hébreu, 18^o de l'épha ou *pi*,—ayant aussi son correspondant dans une sigle démotique équivalente au *χουμξ* d'époque ptolémaïque: 6^o le *log* *𐤋𐤐* hébreu ou *ΛΟΚ*, égyptien, $\frac{1}{3}$ de l'épha, $\frac{1}{12}$ de l'artabe ptolémaïque, assimilé expressément en hébreu au cotyle par les Septante, comme il est assimilé, en égyptien, au cotyle par les bilingues copto-grecs (ou par les textes démotiques).

Nous avons dit également que, par suite d'une réforme opérée par les Ptolémées alors qu'ils possédaient la Palestine, les mesures hébraïques ont été réduites de moitié, comme le prouve le calcul de la mer d'airain, fait par Saigey (*Metr.*, p. 20)

offre un champ  avec la légende : 
 "le dieu bon Psammétique donne son champ à lui
 (au dieu) doué de vie." Vient ensuite le corps de l'inscription portant



L'an 8 du dieu bon, seigneur des deux pays, Psammétique, qui aime Hor de Pharbætus—le grand prince Uer aa emhat Petichons a donné 10 aroures pour vivifier les portes du grand domaine sacré (*Ta hotep n-aa*) en l'approvisionnement (*Tef* pour *T'efa*) avec ses biens (mot-à-mot : ses paroles ou ses choses —C&XI) qui dans la compagnie de la ville de Bat-hor—Au sud-est Taarto; au nord Tarobt-Amen; à l'occident le grand chanteur Aaneba et Pebespheb (l'entrée de la charrue); à l'orient les veilleurs (*narsu*). Celui qui osera toucher la vivification de la porte d'Osiris (à ce qui aura été donné pour vivifier la porte du domaine sacré, c'est-à-dire pour permettre de vivre à l'administration de ce domaine appelé *porte*, comme le *θησαυρίς*, ou "*porte des blés*" de l'époque ptolémaïque), le dieu Hormert détruira son ciel, détruira sa vie, détruira sa femme et ses enfants!"

Dans une autre donation analogue faite à Hormerti du temps du roi S'abaka, il est aussi question de  c'est-à-dire de 5 aroures. Ici encore *Ah set* forme un seul mot composé—et cette fois comme dans beaucoup d'autres cas—sans déterminatif intermédiaire, ce qu'un de mes éminents collègues croyait naguère impossible.

(42) *Journal Asiatique*, p. 370; Lepsius, *Denk.*, II, VI.

(43) Lepsius, *Denk.* II, VII; *Journal Asiatique*, p. 387.

(44) Je maintiens la leçon  de Lepsius, et j'y vois la forme verbale correspondante au *Λ* démotique, signifiant "étant."

(45)  = EC. Cela répond à la troisième personne du féminin, employé pour le neutre.

vignes, en dehors de celles qui existaient déjà, et étaient notées dans l'inventaire général annexé à la charte royale (pour éviter toute dépréciation causée par négligence à ce domaine, appartenant toujours au roi).

Chacune de ces acquisitions est donc répétée deux fois : "1^o dans l'énumération générale ; 2^o dans un texte plus détaillé.

"Quant aux douze domaines représentant le traitement d'abord alloué à Amte pour ses fonctions successives, et qui sont indiqués dans l'énumération générale avant l'acquisition en équivalence des 200 aroures, on n'en parle plus dans la suite, peut-être parcequ'Amten ne les occupait plus."

Cette question de l'occupation ou de la propriété des terres à cette époque, j'en traite longuement dans ma leçon d'ouverture de mon cours de droit égyptien à laquelle j'ai emprunté ces détails ; mais elle n'aurait pas sa place ici. Qu'il me suffise de lui emprunter encore les explications des termes juridiques relatifs à cette appropriation. Ces termes sont : 1^o *an* ; 2^o *kher* ; 3^o *asu* ; 4^o *tu*.

1^o La valeur juridique du mot *an* (𓂏) signifiant mot-à-mot "apporter" et "emporter," comme *aine eꜣꜣꜣ* et *aine eꜣꜣꜣ* en Copte) a été spécifié par moi depuis 15 ans dans mes travaux. M. Maspero l'a admise depuis et il y consacre des notes dans lesquelles il a oublié de me citer. Notons que dans les contrats archaïques démotiques cette expression, qui se rencontre sans cesse, s'emploie pour marquer soit l'acquisition du contractant, par héritage direct surtout, et parfois par transmission familiale, soit l'éviction faite à son préjudice. Plus tard *an ethe hat* (apporter pour argent) est la locution consacrée pour dire "acheter." Je l'ai rencontrée depuis Darius I^{er} pour rappeler de ventes antérieures à l'acte.

2^o Le mot *kher*, écrit par la jambe dont le pied est posé sur le sol ou pour mieux dire enfoncé dans le sol (𓂏), a le sens d'occuper, de posséder ou plutôt, de posséder comme administrateur.

3^o Le mot *asu* (𓂏 𓂏) se retrouve dans les contrats archaïques démotiques pour désigner l'équivalence, en terre d'abord, qui était donnée pour une acquisition. L'équivalence en terre se disait aussi du temps de Taharka, à Psammétique, etc., *teb* (Copte *TOOBE retribuer*), équivalence qui était toujours exigée dans les arrangements familiaux pour qu'une transmission (*mas*) pût être effectuée. Mais les deux termes *teb* et *asu* étaient parallèles, synonymes et employés concurremment à cette même époque dans les mêmes contrats pour cette équivalence en terre, comme parfois plus tard sous Darius ils étaient synonymes pour traduire l'équivalence en argent, bien que le mot propre du prêtre dût devenir peu-à-peu *souu* dans le style contractuel et que son versement eût alors comme expression parallèle la rétribution (*teb*) de l'argent. Nous voyons *asu* pris dans ce sens de rétribution, non seulement dans les contrats archaïques ; mais dans les décrets de Rosette et de Canope, où il exprime la "rétribution" que les dieux donnent au roi pour ses bonnes œuvres ; dans la fable du lion et de la souris, où il exprime la "réciproque" dont la reconnaissance fait un devoir aux cœurs vertueux (comme dans d'autres passages des entretiens du chancelier Kout dont cette fable est extraite, *teb* exprime la "rétribution" que les dieux font aux œuvres des hommes en les punissant), etc. On peut donc souvent hésiter pour

asu entre ces deux sens certains d'équivalence et de rétribution qui d'ailleurs se confondent un peu comme origine.

5° Le verbe *tu* (Δ—Π) "donner," dans nos contrats archaïques démotiques est le plus vague de tous au point de vue juridique. Il s'emploie aussi bien dans les actes de transmission (cette fois concurremment avec le verbe "transmettre") que dans les simples cessions de droits, les abandons temporaires s'appliquant soit au fonds, soit seulement aux produits, en faveur d'un créancier, etc.

(50) *Ετος τὸ ἐνιστάμενον τέταρτον ἀρούρας γράψουσιν· ἐστὶ δὲ μέτρον γῆς ἡ ἀρουρα πηχῶν ἑκατόν· etc. Le signe peut avoir, été  *hesep*. Ajoutons—car, nous, nous sommes toujours consciencieux—que Brugsch avait déjà, dans son *Dictionnaire*, comparé *hesep* à ce passage d'Horapollon.

(51) Lepsius a, du reste, couvert de notes nombreuses son exemplaire de cet ouvrage qui a figuré après sa mort dans une vente publique.

(52) Voici la liste des fractions de l'unité métrique écrites sur le temple d'Edfou, etc. : $\frac{1}{2}$ () , $\frac{1}{4}$ () , $\frac{1}{8}$ () , $\frac{1}{16}$ () , $\frac{1}{32}$ () , $\frac{1}{64}$.

Ce sont les mêmes que Wilcken et d'autres ont retrouvées en grec pour l'aroure, et ce sont celles que plus récemment Brugsch a fait figurer dans son tableau des fractions de l'aroure (*Sup. au Lex.*, p. 1150).

(53) A moitié route entre la plus grosse unité, l'aroure, et l'unité moyenne, la coudée d'aroure, se serait trouvé le décuple de celle-ci, qui se serait placé entre le 8° et le 16° d'aroure, ayant 10 coudées de large (sur 100 de long), et 1,000 coudées carrées de superficie. Ce décuple était le 10° de l'aroure; mais c'est sous le nom de "10 coudées" que nous le trouvons dans un texte daté de l'époque des Ramessides, et publié par Erman. Dans ce texte figure notamment 10 aroures $\frac{1}{2}$, et 10 coudées et demie. Pour ma part il me semble évident que les coudées en question sont bien ces coudées d'aroures que les grecs d'Egypte nomment simplement πηχυς.

(54) Voir aussi dans la *Revue Archéologique* mon article sur "l'étalon d'argent."

(55) Voir *Revue Egyptologique*, 2° année, Nos. II, III, pl. 6 et p. 121.

(56) Voir *Revue Egyptologique*, 3° année, p. 93.

(57) Notons d'ailleurs que le nom du cuivre $\text{L} = \text{D}_{000}$ a été ainsi précisé pour la première fois par moi avec certitude, et que tous les égyptologues ont admis pour cela mes conclusions.

(58) Voir *Revue Egyptologique*, VI° année, pp. 56 et 57. *Confr. ibid.*, II° année, p. 298 et suiv.

(59) Lors de l'occupation de l'Egypte par Alexandre, la monnaie grecque d'Egypte était calculée d'après la drachme attique, et 20 drachmes équivalaient comme poids à 87 grammes. Or, l'ancien outen était de 90 grammes environ. Mais, depuis des siècles, nous le verrons, l'isonomie était devenue complète entre les monnaies égyptiennes et le monnayage attique.

(60) Je tiens à conserver ici pour le grec le texte donné par mon cher collaborateur Wilcken, dans ma *Revue Egyptologique*, et qu'il a complété lui-même,

(*Revue Egyptologique*, VI, I, p. 8, note), bien que mes lectures diffèrent un peu de quelques-unes des siennes—mais pas pour les chiffres. Ainsi j'ai lu : *ισπυς γῆς Ἀμμῶνος* dans le texte original.

(61) *Confer. Dictionnaire de Levi*, III, p. 147.

(62) Pour le mot *pta*, "part" = *ἀπόμοιρα*, voir le décret de Rosette (*Chrest. dem.*, p. 15).

(63) L'argenteus-outen est resté la principale unité monétaire qu'il faut toujours suppléer, à moins d'indications contraires.

(64) Pour ce mot *ten* = *ὀφείλω*, "redevoir" en démotique, voir le décret de Rosette dans ma *chrestomathie démotique*, p. 13, l. 16 et 20; p. 17, l. 2; p. 31, l. 7 et 21, etc.

(65) *Revue Egyptologique*, No. 11 de la troisième année.

(66) MM. Charles Robert et Deloche ont eu à ce sujet une discussion intéressante à l'académie des Inscriptions.

(67) Le didrachme d'Athènes, pesant 8 grammes 70 environ, paraît une moyenne assez exacte entre le scel asiatique, qui, 60^{me} de la mine, devait peser d'après le poids des mines conservées, inscrites comme telles, 8 grammes 33½, et le kati égyptien qui, 10^{me} de l'argenteus-outen, devait peser d'après le poids des outen inscrits comme tels, entre 9 grammes et 9 grammes 10. Aristote, dans son ouvrage sur la constitution d'Athènes, retrouvé sur un papyrus égyptien du British Museum, et que nous n'avons pu consulter qu'après la rédaction de ce travail, nous dit aussi formellement—en cela, d'accord avec Pollux—que ce qui est devenu le didrachme était l'ancien type, l'ancienne unité monétaire d'Athènes, et qu'il en entraît d'abord 60 dans la mine athénienne, identique à l'ancienne mine babylonienne. (Voir *Revue Egyptologique*, II, II, p. 177, et suiv.) Ce n'est que du temps de Solon d'après Aristote qu'on divisa l'ancienne unité en deux unités et qu'on fit entrer 100 de ces unités dans la mine, réforme dont nous avons indiqué les origines (*Revue Egyptologique*, II, II, p. 181). Et encore faut-il ajouter que si cette réforme date bien de Solon, elle ne devait porter que sur les unités de compte sans entraîner immédiatement une refonte et un remaniement quelconque des monnaies existantes. Je la rattacherais au désir de réduire les dettes (bien plus intimement que M. Kenyon ne paraît le faire) attribuant à toute autre cause et à une toute autre époque le remplacement des anciens types pondéraux des pièces d'argent. Les didrachmes, comme pièces dominantes, se continuent en effet bien longtemps, et le travail artistique de toute la série se rattachant à l'unité drachme (et comprenant aussi des tétradrachmes, etc.) ne rappelle guère les œuvres antérieures à l'expédition de Xerxes et à la destruction de l'ancienne Acropole.

Il est facile de comprendre comment Solon aurait fait œuvre très populaire en réduisant les dettes suivant la proportion suivant laquelle il réduisait théoriquement les unités monétaires de compte. L'ancienne unité inférieure, l'ancienne pièce d'argent, valait deux unités nouvelles correspondantes. Toutes les petites dettes se trouvaient donc ainsi réduites de moitié. Pour les grosses dettes, atteignant ou dépassant la mine, unité plus forte, la réduction était bien moindre,

d'un sixième seulement, puisque la nouvelle mine représentait encore cinquante des anciennes pièces d'argent, alors que l'ancienne mine en représentait soixante. On voit par là l'esprit des autres réductions, s'il en fit d'autres. Les dettes de moins d'une mine étaient dettes de gens du peuple ; celles de mines ou de talents dettes de gens riches. Solon avait donc bien mérité en cela l'épithète de "ὁ δημοτικός — ὁ δημοτικώτατος" que lui prodiguent les orateurs.

C'étaient des réductions et non des suppressions : le mot ἀποκοπή a le double sens, et Aristote n'est pas le premier qui s'en serve à cette occasion. Le glossaire cité par Alexandre attribuait le sens de réduire les dettes à l'expression ἀποκόπτειν τὰ χρεῖα : et c'est par "novas tabulas," renouvellement des créances, que Cicéron traduit ἀποκοπή à propos de mesures semblables à celles de Solon. En terme de grammaire, ἀποκοπή est un retranchement de syllabe à la fin d'un mot. En terme de chirurgie c'est une *résection* et non point une amputation.

(68) Quant au ΠΠ, 20° du sekel hébreu, il n'en est pas fait mention en Chaldée—à moins qu'on ne veuille y voir le sekel *giru* babylonien, qui, s'il représentait un 20°, ne pourrait représenter que le 20° du sekel d'or, comme la monnaie d'argent persane représentait en valeur le 20° du sekel d'or persan.

(69) Dans la stèle d'Horsiatief on voit figurer un 128° d'outen nommé . Cela rentre dans la série 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128 ; mais on ne trouve rien de pareil à la même époque en Egypte, où le 120° d'outen remplace le 128°.

(70) *Revue de la Société de Numismatique*, 1884, p. 120.

(71) Après Alexandre, la Phénicie, soumise aux Ptolémées, avait admis le *sekel* ptolémaïque ou tétradrachme ; et c'est celui-là que les Macchabées reprirent quand ils frappèrent le *sekel* Israël d'après le poids tyrien (voir *ibid.*, p. 130).

(72) J'ai retrouvé aussi dans plusieurs tessons d'époque récente les sigles monétaires d'Amasis et de Tahraka (voir à ce sujet mon *catalogue des documents démotiques et grecs du Musée Egyptien du Louvre* que j'achève en ce moment).

(73) Nous citerons, par exemple, la pièce de la collection de Luyne qui pèse 3 gr. 42 c.

(74) Celle de la collection de Luyne ne pèse que 97 centigrammes. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que parmi les drachmes d'Athènes de la même époque en apparence bien conservés, il en est qui n'atteignent plus le poids de 4 grammes.

(75) Le chalque se dit aussi en Egyptien "cuivre," et il se trouve indiqué dans un poids hiéroglyphique N° 10,711 du Musée de Berlin, dont nos excellents collègues, M. le Professeur Erman et M. Steindorf, nous ont envoyé les copies, les estampages, et les pesées, et qui, bien entendu, n'a été nullement compris par Brugsch (*Zeitschrift*, 1889, p. 58). Ce poids porte l'inscription :

 ou plutôt  en caractères typographiques.

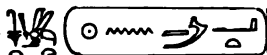
Il pèse actuellement 409,6, et M. Steindorf pense qu'il peut avoir perdu de son poids dans une proportion qui le ramènerait à 411 grammes environ, 411 grammes sont donc à diviser par 15, ce qui nous donnerait 27½ grammes par unité de cuivre. L'unité de cuivre était à Athènes le 48° de l'unité d'argent

quand cette unité fut devenue la drachme. Si en Egypte la proportion entre les deux unités était la même, le kati valant le double de la drachme, le chalque égyptien primitif devait valoir le double du chalque athénien ; et la proportion du cuivre à l'argent à cette époque se trouvera donnée par le chiffre indiquant le rapport entre le poids de ce chalque multiplié par 48 et le poids d'un kati d'argent, c'est-à-dire 9 gr. 1, si l'on accepte le calcul de Chabas fait d'après le poids Harris, calcul confirmé par un poids du Louvre publié par nous (*Revue Egyptologique*, II, II, p. 178). Mais la proportion entre l'argent et le cuivre a varié suivant les époques, puisqu'elle était et fut toujours régulièrement de 1 à 120 sous les Ptolémées, quand l'isonomie de poids existait entre la drachme d'argent et celle de cuivre. Il en fut de même pour l'outen considéré comme unité monétaire d'argent, qui certainement n'avait plus sous les Ptolémées le poids d'argent qu'il représentait à l'époque du poids Harris et du poids du Louvre. Si l'on admettait donc que le kati, 10^e d'outen, était à l'époque de notre étalon de cuivre un peu plus lourd qu'à l'époque du poids Harris et du poids du Louvre, nous aurions alors la proportion d'environ 1 à 140 entre le cuivre et l'argent.

Ajoutons que les sigles, proprement dites, s'arrêtent dans le papyrus Sakkakinis au tértartémorion ou dichalque ptolémaïque, c'est-à-dire à la dernière monnaie d'argent qu'on trouve dans le monnayage athénien de certaines périodes. Le chalque est marqué par l'initiale du mot χ (ou même ailleurs $\chi\alpha$). Ne serait-ce pas parcequ'il s'agit d'une unité nouvelle ? Quand l'unité était à Athènes l'ancien didrachme, le chalque devait être, comme en Egypte, le tértartémorion, dont la sigle a un aspect tout spécial dans le papyrus grec Sakkakinis. Dans le papyrus démotique d'Amasis le hasard veut que les sigles des monnaies d'argent s'arrêtent au 12^e du kati. Mais nous n'avons pas, comme dans le papyrus Sakkakinis, l'indication du chalque. Nous ne savons donc pas par ce papyrus le point précis où s'arrêtaient les monnaies d'argent. Il nous paraît probable que c'était au 24^e du kati, 24^e qui, à Athènes, correspondit à l'hémiobole. On sait que dans les monnaies d'Athènes, l'hémiobole, ainsi que l'obole, portait souvent encore le même revers que la drachme et que le didrachme, alors que les autres divisions, plus récentes peut-être, se distinguaient par des différences de revers.

Quand on étudie dans le papyrus Sakkakinis les notations monétaires inférieures à la drachme, on est frappé de voir qu'en dehors du seul tértartémorion elles se rapportent à deux unités : 1^o la drachme ou demi-didrachme ; 2^o l'obole. En dessous de la drachme vient la demi-drachme dont la sigle peut se combiner avec la sigle simple d'une obole ou la sigle double de deux oboles ; c'est-à-dire soit avec un trait, soit avec deux traits. L'obole elle-même a sa demi, dont la sigle semi-circulaire se rapproche un peu par le haut de la sigle de la demi-drachme. Le sigma final revêt d'ailleurs dans certains papyrus de la banque de Thèbes exactement la même forme que la sigle de la demi-drachme de la même époque, tandis que le sigma du commencement et du milieu des mots possède alors la forme circulaire que revêt également à cette même époque la sigle de la demi-obole. Ce que l'on appelle fort improprement le tértartémorion—c'est-à-dire le quart d'obole—au contraire, ne rappelle aucune lettre de l'alphabet, ni aucune notation fractionnaire, et semble figurer, à côté de la drachme et de l'obole, une troisième unité d'autrefois (l'ancien chalque avant la démonétisation du

dyn.), pèse 76 gr. 645. L'autre portant l'inscription



 IIII, "le roi Ra nmat—4 aurei" (XII^e dyn.), pèse 50 gr. 835. Cela écarte absolument l'opinion que Brugsch a exprimée (*Zeit.*, 1889, p. 8) en prenant pour unités d'or les unités qui étaient marquées sur le poids Golénischeff, qui avait été publié dans le 2^e n^o de la 2^e année de la *Revue Egyptologique*, p. 177. Ces unités du poids Golénischeff n'ont, je l'avais prouvé (p. 179, et suiv.), aucun rapport avec les unités d'or, puisque 127 gr. 7 répondent sur le poids Golénischeff à 8 unités de 16 gr. 4, dont la nature n'était pas désignée par la légende, tandis que l'aureus avait 12 gr. 80 au plus. M. Brugsch a la main malheureuse. Je l'ai déjà fait voir pour l'unité d'or. J'en dirai autant pour la mine, que les Egyptiens n'ont jamais connue avant les Grecs, et dont ils ne se sont pas même servi dans leur langue pour unité de compte sous les Grecs, mais que Brugsch veut absolument trouver jusque dans les textes du moyen empire. Voici les exemples qu'il cite :—



"Silber als $\frac{1}{10}$ minen : 100 pfund," au lieu qu'il faut traduire : "argent en morceaux, 100 outen," comme d'ailleurs l'avait fait autrefois Lepsius, et, d'après lui, Brugsch lui-même.



"104 pfund und 5 loth $\frac{1}{10}$ minen," au lieu de : "morceaux formant 104 outen 5 kati."



"Silber in minen, 1891 pfund und $\frac{1}{10}$ loth," au lieu de : "argent en vases (vaisselle d'argent), 1891 outen et $\frac{1}{10}$ kati."



"Kupfer en minen, 1416 pfund und 1 loth," au lieu de : "cuivre en vases, 1416 outen 1 kati."



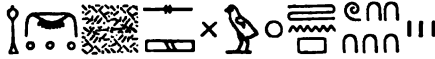
"Silber als mine mit dem Gesichte von 1495 pfund und 1 loth," au lieu de : "argent en cercles (anneaux), faisant outen 1495 et un kati."



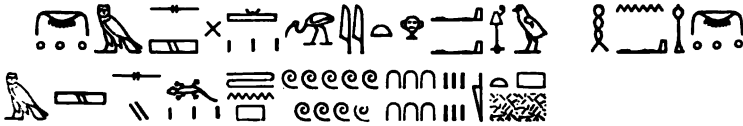
"Gold eine mine mit 12 pfund . . . loth," au lieu de : "or en anneaux, 12 outen et . . . kati."



"Gold als mine 50 pfund und 8 loth," au lieu de : "or en anneaux, 50 outen et 8 kati."



"Silber . . . mine 153 pfund," au lieu de : "or . . . en anneaux, 153 outhen."



"Gold in minen gefunden in der handen der Meister Nebst, silber in vielen minen 966 pfund und 1 + X (wahrscheinlich 6) loth," au lieu de: "or en anneaux trouvé dans la main des artistes, avec argent en anneaux nombreux, 966 outen . . . kati."

Nous ne nous arrêterons pas à un système qui donne à la mine les noms de   et de   —mots parfaitement connus et tout différents de sens dans la lexicographie égyptienne,—en attribuant à ces prétendues mines les valeurs métrologiques les plus diverses. Quant au 50^e de mine, que Brugsch a retrouvé dans le nom du vase, *hin*,  MO, bien connus de tous les égyptologues, il n'a jamais existé non plus en Egypte, et ne répond, du reste, à rien dans la métrologie comparée.

Je n'ai, du reste, qu'à renvoyer à une de mes notes précédentes au sujet des outen et des kati d'or et d'airain en vases et en anneaux. Ces vases et ces anneaux ne sont estimés en outen et en kati que parce qu'ils sont considérés comme des lingots, des marchandises ordinaires, et non comme des monnaies. L'outen et le kati constituent en effet les unités pondérales employées pour tout ce qui se pèse, et ils ne sont nommés comme monnaies, avant Philopator, que pour l'argent. (Chabas en avait déjà cité des exemples, bien antérieurs à nos si nombreux contrats démotiques de toute période, et aux stèles hiéroglyphiques contemporaines, et Naville vient encore d'en publier d'autres analogues). Quant à l'or et au cuivre monnaies, ils formaient à l'ancienne époque, nous l'avons vu, des unités pondérales spéciales, (l'aureus et le chalque) qui ne renaissent nullement dans le poids de l'outen. On ne saurait donc se tromper plus complètement que l'a fait Brugsch.

Revenons-en maintenant à notre aureus, , tout différent de l'aureus-outen qui porte le même nom dans le papyrus Golénischeff et dans le roman de Setna. Si l'on part de l'outen et du kati d'argent, cet aureus nous indiquerait la proportion de 1 à 7, ou de 1 à 14 environ, entre l'or et l'argent, selon que l'on admet que l'unité d'or répondait à 1 ou à 2 outen d'argent comme valeur. Chez les Persans elle était de 1 à 13½, chez les Grecs et sous les Lagides de 1 à 10, et chez nous elle est de 1 à 15 environ. C'est donc cette proportion de 1 à 14 qui nous semble la plus vraisemblable—d'autant plus que la proportion contemporaine de 1 à 140 entre l'argent et le cuivre rentrait, sauf les zéros, dans le même système.

(79) On sait que les monnaies d'or et d'argent, loin d'être isonomes en Perse, y étaient calculées, même pour les poids, sur la proportion légale de 13½, qu'avait déjà indiquée Hérodote. Chose curieuse, dans les provinces, également persanes, de l'Asie Mineure elle était alors de 1 à 10.

(80) Il en était de même à Athènes. L'or y était isonome avec l'argent. Le χρυσός était un didrachme, c'est-à-dire exactement du poids de ce didrachme (ou kati) d'argent qui était la principale monnaie d'Athènes comme la principale monnaie d'Egypte à cette époque. Le cuivre, au contraire, à Athènes comme en Egypte, était alors calculé sur un autre poids (chalque) comme monnaie fractionnaire. Il est probable que du temps de Darius, en Egypte la proportion de l'or à l'argent était déjà la proportion régulière de 10 à 1 (comme entre l'aureus et l'argenteus dans le roman de Setna). Je dirai plus : il est même probable que la proportion de 10 à 1 entre l'or et l'argent, assimilant comme valeur le kati d'or et l'outen d'argent, s'était peu à peu établie d'abord dans des pays comme l'Egypte, où l'or était relativement commun à cause des mines d'or dont nous parlent les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et du commerce de poudre d'or venant du Soudan, et non d'un pays, comme l'Attique, où il n'existait que des mines d'argent. Dans tous les cas le système monétaire était alors identique en Egypte et en Grèce, et même chez les grecs d'Asie Mineure, selon Xénophon. Il était très différent en Perse, où l'or, plus rare, était plus précieux.

(81) C'est à l'or marchandise que nous avons affaire dans un contrat de mariage de l'an 12 de Philometor dont j'ai déjà dit quelques mots au point de vue monétaire dans l'*Annuaire de la Société de numismatique* de 1887 (janvier, pp. 45-46), et qui porte le n° 236 à la Bibliothèque nationale. Il s'agit alors d'une énumération d'objets mobiliers apportés par la femme. Tous les premiers sont estimés séparément en monnaies de cuivre, dont la proportion légale est de 24 outen pour 2 kati d'argent, et les trois derniers sont évalués d'après leur métal en or et en argent. L'un est de 4 kati d'argent, un autre de 3 kati d'argent, un autre d'un tiers et d'une sixième de kati d'or. Vient ensuite l'addition générale de tous les objets estimés en bronze pour 370 outen-argenteus d'airain, des deux objets d'argent, évalués à 4 kati d'argent, et du tiers et sixième de kati d'or 49 ⚡. Ici la sigle du 6° est celle qui marque cette fraction en général, et que nous avons déjà notée dans les comptes du temps de Tahraka. Ce n'est pas du tout celle du diobole d'argent, représentant le 6° du kati d'argent, que nous avons rencontrée sous Amasis et que nous voyons seule en usage dans les comptes ptolémaïques — billes ou non — relatifs à cette monnaie d'argent. Ajoutons qu'un tiers et un sixième de kati c'est un dem kati (une drachme d'or). Mais on n'a pas voulu, non plus, se servir de cette expression consacrée, qui aurait fait penser à une monnaie et non à un poids. En 1887 je m'étais refusé à admettre la possibilité de 2 dioboles distincts — l'un pondéral, l'autre monétaire — ainsi que la possibilité de 2 fractions combinées du tiers et du sixième, au lieu du demi kati, et j'avais essayé de corriger "tiers et huitième." Mais il faut absolument renoncer à interpréter ainsi un texte très clair, que je viens d'ailleurs de revoir. C'est certainement afin d'arriver à un diacretisme, pour l'or, entre le poids et la monnaie qu'on avait donc ici adopté cette curieuse manière de compter.

Dans notre contrat de mariage de l'an 12 de Philometor l'argent lui-même est une marchandise dont on indique le poids et non l'estimation. C'est pour cela qu'on

ne se sert pas des expressions "argent gravé" (*ha' ef ket*) qui accompagne tous jours du temps de l'étalon de cuivre l'indication des unités de compte en question, quand il s'agit de monnaies d'argent. On ne donne pas, non plus, le double calcul en argenteus outen et en sekel comme on l'a fait pour les monnaies de cuivre dans ce même contrat. Les 7 kati d'argent sont donc ici des poids, et non des monnaies. En effet, en cas de dissolution du mariage, la femme n'avait pas à réclamer seulement des pièces d'argent représentant la valeur de bijoux apportés par elle, mais ses bijoux eux mêmes en nature, ayant encore leur poids primitif et, par conséquent, n'ayant pas subi de limage—pas plus qu'elle n'avait à recevoir une drachme d'or en monnaie à la place du bijou d'or qu'elle apportait et qui devait lui être rendu avec tout son poids. Au contraire, pour les objets estimés en cuivre l'estimation faisait vente, comme elle le fit en droit romain et en droit français. Le mari en devenait donc propriétaire et il était tenu à rendre leur valeur en monnaie. Ces objets ne sont donc pas pesés, ils sont estimés ; et il est probable que dans l'estimation de ceux de ces objets qui sont en airain on a dû tenir compte du travail, comme on tenait compte de la matière. On a tenu compte également du travail pour un objet d'argent estimé dans le contrat de mariage 234 de Turin, que nous avons déjà signalé p. 270 de l'*Annuaire de la Société de numismatique* cité plus haut. Le poids de ce bijou d'argent est indiqué. Il s'élevait à 2 kati, ce qui, avec l'isonomie et avec la proportion de 1 à 120, aurait représenté 24 argenteus-outen en monnaie de cuivre. Or l'estimation qui est portée pour ce bijou est de 25 argenteus, c'est-à-dire qu'elle dépasse d'un argenteus, d'un 25^e, le taux proportionnel entre le métal monétaire argent et le métal monétaire cuivre. Mais le travail du bijou pouvait aisément représenter comme valeur cette différence et l'estimation faisait vente.

(82) Comme je le rappelais déjà dans une note de la *Revue de la Société de numismatique* de 1884, p. 542 : " Cette proportion de 1 à 120 entre l'argent et le cuivre est du reste celle qui subsista dans le monde romain sous l'empire. M. Mommsen a parfaitement établi ce point dans son *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, tome III, p. 155 et suivantes. Il cite à ce sujet le décret de 396, donné dans le code Théodosien (XI, 21, 2), et dans le code de Justinien (X, 29, 1), des gloses monétaires grecques, des inscriptions latines, etc., qui ne peuvent laisser l'ombre d'un doute." Dans son premier volume (p. 47) il concluait même que telle devait être aussi la différence de valeur venale du cuivre à l'argent déjà sous les Ptolémées. Mais il pensait que les monnaies de cuivre avaient été tarifées au double, ce qui est certainement inexact, d'après nos documents démotiques et grecs indiquant la valeur de 1 à 120."

(83) C'était d'autant moins étonnant que le pays d'Assour et de Ninive était en rapports continuels avec la Chelchide, avec ces régions du Pont, si riches en or qu'on y plaça la légende de la toison d'or.

Cette proportion de 1 à 10 entre l'argent et l'or paraît établie par des textes assez nombreux, dont nous avons longuement parlé, pp. 554 et suiv. (cf. p. 564 et suiv.) de l'*Annuaire de la Société de numismatique* en 1881. Dans les contrats de vente d'esclaves en Assyrie au siècle d'Assurbanipal, par exemple, on inscrivait d'ordinaire une amende contre quiconque viendrait contester les effets de l'acte. Cette amende ainsi rappelée et qui devait être imposée par une loi, puisqu'elle menaçait non seulement les contractants eux-mêmes et leurs ayant-cause, mais tout

autre, était de dix mines d'argent = 1 mine d'or à verser au trésor d'un temple. Ceci nous conduit forcément à la proportion de 1 à 10 entre l'or et l'argent (comme les 100 argenteus = 10 aureus du roman de Setna) et il faut remarquer que de toutes les proportions, c'était celle qui convenait le mieux pour l'isonomie, c'est-à-dire pour qu'un même poids des deux métaux précieux portât le même nom et représentât une proportion fixe de valeur entre les monnaies ainsi désignées. Quand, comme chez les Persans et comme actuellement chez nous même, le rapport de valeur entre l'or et l'argent était représenté par un chiffre moins simple, on en venait facilement à s'occuper plus de la valeur que du poids alors qu'on frappait des pièces parallèles. Chez les Persans, par exemple, après Darius, ainsi que l'a autrefois démontré, d'ailleurs, M. Mommsen, quand on adopta principalement l'étalon d'or, on ne garda l'ancien poids du sekel que pour ce métal. La pièce d'argent conserva bien aussi dans l'usage le nom de sekel en babylonien, par exemple,—on en a la preuve dans les textes cunéiformes de cette époque—mais afin de représenter comme valeur exactement le 20^e du sekel d'or d'après la proportion de 1 à 13 ($\frac{1}{3}$), indiquée déjà par Hérodote, ce "sekel, qui n'était pas suivant la règle," *sa la ginnu*, ne pesait que les $\frac{2}{3}$ du sekel actuel d'or et de l'ancien sekel d'argent. La proportion légale était donc devenue, comme elle l'est en France, invariable, tandis qu'également en Babylonic, avant la conquête persane, le prix de l'or variait souvent—toujours d'après le témoignage indiscutable des textes cunéiformes relevés par mon frère, et dont il fera bientôt un travail spécial. En France le bimétallisme ne s'est pas traduit comme chez les Persans par un calcul pondéral basé sur l'or pris comme étalon principal, mais au contraire, par un calcul pondéral basé sur l'argent. Aussi notre pièce de 20 fr. n'a-t-elle pas un poids représentant un multiple exact de notre unité pondérale, le gramme, tandis que la pièce d'argent de 2 fr. (10^e de la pièce de 20 fr.), représente exactement 10 grammes. En Egypte, à l'ancienne époque, il en était de même. L'unité pondérale, l'outen (avec son 10^e, le kati) servant d'unité pondérale pour toutes les marchandises pesables, se confondait avec l'unité monétaire de l'argent seul. L'unité monétaire du cuivre et l'unité monétaire de l'or étaient, au contraire, tout à fait distinctes des unités pondérales; car on les avait calculées d'après la valeur proportionnelle des métaux pour l'argent (14 à 1, ou 1 à 140) afin qu'à ce point de vue, toute pièce d'or fut un multiple exact, et toute pièce de cuivre une fraction exacte d'une pièce d'argent. Tout cela devait nécessairement disparaître avec les proportions commodes de 1 à 10, et de 1 à 120, permettant une pleine isonomie de poids entre les unités de compte des métaux.

(84) Les premières mancipations par écrit pour argent relatives à des immeubles possédées par nous jusqu'ici sont datées de Darius. Mais, ainsi que je viens de l'établir dans mon cours de droit égyptien, c'est à Amasis qu'il faut attribuer le remplacement de l'acte de transmission par cet écrit pour argent, qu'il permit également pour des aliénations réelles ou fictives des personnes ingénues, pour des constitutions de *nexi*, des émancipations, des adoptions, des *coemptia*, actes jusqu'alors impossibles et dont il rendit par des amendes les effets inattaquables. (Voir le 3^e fascicule de mon *Corpus Papyrorum*.) Nous avons pu préciser la date de cette nouvelle révolution du roi novateur, qui, avec son assemblée de notables, avait déjà établi le cens quinquennal, diminué le plus possible, suivant la chronique démotique, l'influence et les revenus des sanctuaires, etc.

Cette attestation vient bien à sa place.

En effet, rien ne paraît plus sincère ni plus exact que notre chronique démotique. Peut-être n'est-il pas inutile d'en décrire ici la contexture générale pour en faire bien apprécier la portée.

Ce précieux document (que nous avons publié depuis longtemps dans la *Revue Egyptologique*, mais dont nous venons de revoir et de corriger avec soin la partie que nous donnons ici) est, comme on le voit, un fragment d'un document beaucoup plus complet.

La partie qui a été la première écrite est celle qui se trouvait sur le verso. Elle comprenait un très grand nombre de colonnes, mais il ne nous en reste que cinq complètes—en dehors des fragments de deux autres aux extrémités. C'était le commentaire historique d'une ancienne prophétie, dont nous avons fait, il y a quatre ans, une nouvelle revision, communiquée à la *Société d'Archéologie biblique*, revision que nous comptons bientôt publier. Rien de plus exact au point de vue historique que les renseignements contenus dans ce précieux commentaire exégétique décrivant les luttes des Egyptiens contre les Perses depuis Cambyse jusqu'à la nouvelle conquête persane du temps de Nechtaneb. Maspero dit dans son histoire que Wiedemann a été égaré pour Muthès par la *rhapsodie démotique*, mais il a oublié de dire que cette prétendue *rhapsodie* ne commentait absolument aucune erreur—ainsi que, quand Maspero écrivait, je l'avais démontré depuis longtemps, dans le 2^e N^o. de la 2^e année de ma *Revue Egyptologique*—et que ce qui avait égaré Wiedemann, ce n'était pas la chronique, mais un trop rapide examen que j'avais fait d'abord de cette chronique dans la *Revue Archéologique*. En réalité notre précieux papyrus est le seul document égyptien qui nous donne des renseignements certains sur Amyrtée, Muthès, etc., tout en précisant ce que nous savions sur les autres règnes de cette période. Malheureusement, encore une fois, nous n'avons qu'une faible portion de ce verso, qui, devait contenir aussi les règnes d'Apriès, Amasis, Cambyse, etc., etc.

C'est justement cette partie que nous n'avons plus qui semble avoir inspiré les additions faites par le possesseur du manuscrit, à une époque un peu postérieure. Ce curieux—ce savant, crut bon de compléter ce qu'il avait déjà par une foule de renseignements, pris ailleurs à bonne source. De ces additions, la majeure partie aussi est maintenant perdue par la brisure du manuscrit. Ainsi la colonne et demie qui précédaient la note sur les entreprises d'Amasis contre les temples semble concerner Apriès, dont on décrit la chute malheureuse.

Après l'extrait textuel fait aux registres des temples sur les pertes qu'ils avaient subies sous Amasis, viennent, écrites en sens inverse, deux strophes poétiques sur les malheurs de l'Egypte, sur les patriotes qui s'étaient réfugiés dans les marais et préféraient y mourir de privations plutôt que de servir l'étranger. Enfin, dans une colonne écrite dans le même sens que les colonnes qui regardaient déjà Amasis, nous trouvons le commencement d'un très intéressant récit anecdotique, depuis longtemps publié par moi dans la *Revue Egyptologique*, et concernant les déportements bacchiques d'Amasis—Hérodote nous en avait déjà parlé,—pendant lesquels on lui contait de très curieux apologues, peu favorables au roi réformateur, et dont les conclusions étaient peut-être grosses de menaces.

Ce qui est certain, en effet, c'est que le mécontentement des prêtres et d'une grande partie de la population contre Amasis devait bien peu préparer l'Egypte à

sa lutte mortelle contre la Perse. Il se passa alors ce qui se passa plus tard sous Héraclius quand les Egyptiens, mécontents contre les lois religieuses de Justinien, l'ennemi de leur culte, opposèrent une si faible résistance à l'envahissement des Arabes.

(85) Voir *Revue Egyptologique*, II, II, pp. 120 et 121, notes.

(86) Voir surtout, dans la circulaire administrative du Louvre portant le N° 62 dans la publication académique, ce passage, ainsi rétabli par nous :

Ἀτελῇ δ' ἦσαν ἕως τοῦ Α Λ. Ἐὰν δὲ τινες ἀτελείας διδῶσιν ὑπόγραφας χωρὶς τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν, τὸ καθήκον τέλος παραδεχθήσεται ἐκ τῶν ἀνενηνεγμένων γεννημάτων ἕως τοῦ Α Λ. Ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν ἀναληφθῇ, προσαχθήσεται τὰ καθήκοντα τίλη τῇ ἐγγλήψει.

(87) Pas plus que je me crois plus fort helléniste que les éditeurs de *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, dont j'ai corrigé bien des textes, etc.

(88) Je crois entrevoir ici Δ = C ce qui joint à ας, si la somme payée pour représenter τιμὴν σπυρίδων καὶ τᾶλλα ἀνηλώματα est la même qu'un peu plus haut, donnerait un total de 6 drachmes, le double de ce qu'on paie pour la ζυτηρά, et un peu moins de moitié de ce qui est exigé en cas de πρὸς ἀργύριον ὠνῶν. Tout ceci, du reste, ne figurait pas dans le passage déjà cité de ma *Revue Egyptologique*. Si on admettait d'ailleurs qu'après le 1^{er} chiffre, à la fin de la ligne du papyrus, dans un lacune très suffisante pour cela, on doive supposer un autre article tel que celui-ci εἰς καταγωγήιον, ce que tendrait à faire penser la trace de la lettre ε initiale, et pour cet article une somme de 2 drachmes peut-être, sommée ou non avec le prix des paniers et des autres frais, on arriverait à un chiffre qui se rapprocherait encore plus du chiffre total τῶν ὠνῶν πρὸς ἀργύριον.

(89) Je crois que le droit de mutation rentre dans la catégorie des τῶν πρὸς ἀργύριον ὠνῶν, dont il est question dans la circulaire administrative citée plus haut.



MASONS' MARKS AT AL-HADHR (HATRA).

11, WOLVERTON GARDENS,
HAMMERSMITH, W.,*January 22nd, 1892.*

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The recent publication, by the Royal Institute of British Architects, of Mr. R. Phené Spiers' valuable paper on Sassanian Architecture, has re-awakened the interest I have always felt in certain marks met with on the stones of the great building at Al-Hadhr (ancient Hatra). My impression is that there must be some meaning in these marks. Sir Henry Austin Layard appears to be satisfied that they are mere building marks, but they are not on all stones, and when present a certain prominence is given to them so as to at once attract the eye. In "Notes on the Ruins of the Palace at Al Hather" (Hadhr), communicated by the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Layard, G.C.B., and published by Mr. Spiers, from a MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the writer says as follows:—

"Mr. Ainsworth, in his memoir, has mentioned the peculiar marks which are to be found on almost every stone employed in the buildings of Al Hather, and has given representations of many of them; he seems to attribute some mysterious meaning to them. I have found similar marks on numerous buildings of the Sassanian epoch, for example, at Bisutun and Ispahan. In the latter city I was first induced to look for Sassanian ruins by seeing these marks upon stones employed in modern edifices, and I soon succeeded in finding several fine Sassanian capitals. I believe these marks to be purely fanciful, and not to be the letters of any particular alphabet, letters from a variety of alphabets may be traced amongst them. They appear to have been used for building purposes, and not to have reference to religion or astronomy. They are on the face of the stones, in the centre, each stone being provided with one mark."

Now, I did not attach any mysterious meaning to these marks, but what I wanted to show was that they had a meaning, and were not, as Sir Henry Layard opines, "purely fanciful," or merely "used for building purposes," although I am by no means so sure upon the latter point. But if so, they would be Masonic, and have not Masonic signs a meaning? Experience shows that the Ancients were not in the habit of using signs without a meaning.

Dr. Ross gives some examples of the writings on the wall at p. 470 of the 10th volume of the *Journ. Roy. Geo. Society*. (Bye-the-bye, Mr. Spiers is in error when he says, "Sir Henry Layard's description of these details will be found on page 27, and it was to him that both Ross and Mr. Ainsworth were indebted for their drawings." Now, Dr. Ross visited the place in 1836 and 1837, and the details and ground plan of the city, attached to a memoir by Capt. Blosse Lynch on "the Tigris between Baghdad and Mosul," were his own. Sir Henry Layard's and my visit to the ruins was not made till 1840.)

Dr. Ross looked upon these marks, like Sir Henry Layard, as the builders' number, "as," he adds, "they are seen in the midst of broken walls," where they could not have been exposed when the structure was perfect. But this, strange to say, does not agree with what I myself and Sir Henry Layard observed. In a note to my memoir (p. 13, Vol. XI, *Journ. Roy. Geo. Society*), I say, "the letters were generally about one or two inches in size, and carefully sculptured, one in the centre of the face of each stone;" and in the memoir (penned in 1846) attached to Mr. Spiers' Paper, Sir Henry Layard says of the marks, letters or signs, "They occur on the face of the stones, in the centre, each stone being provided with one mark." What I myself said respecting the marks was to the following effect:—

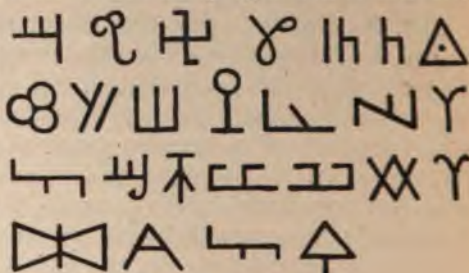
"Every stone, not only in the chief building, but in the walls and bastions and other public monuments, when not defaced by time, is marked with a character, which is for the most part either a Chaldaic (Khaldi) letter or numeral. But some of them could not be deciphered either by Mr. Rassam (Esau Rassam), or by a Jewish Rabbi of Jerusalem, whom we consulted at Mosul; for it is necessary to remark that the Chaldeens or Chaldees, since their conversion to Christianity, have uniformly adopted the Syriac letters, which were used by the Apostles and fathers of the Church, regarding the pagan writing (or Tergum as they call it), as an abomination. The Jews, however, who learnt it in their captivity, have retained, except in their Talmud, and some other works written in the Hebrew character, the use of Chaldean letters.

"Some of the letters at Al Hadhr resembled the Roman A, and others were apparently astronomical signs, among which were very common the ancient mirror and handle  emblematic of Venus, the Mylitta of the Assyrians, and Alitta of the Arabians, according

to Herodotus; and the Nāni (Hyde, p. 92) or Nannaia (Rawlinson, *Journ. Roy. Geo. Society*, Vol. IX, p. 43), of the Syrians.

"Mr. Ross makes a mistake, which it is important to correct, when he says that these letters are only seen in the midst of broken walls, where they could not have been exposed when the structure was perfect. It is quite evident, from the prominent situation which they occupy in the interior of the great halls and sanctuaries, that their object was much more important than a mere arrangement of the stones.

"The characters alone indicate their antiquity, and as to their use, they appear to have a distant relation to practices carried to a further extent by the Assyrians and Babylonians, and by the Egyptians. In whatever obscurity the meaning of these signs or letters may be now involved, they still pos-

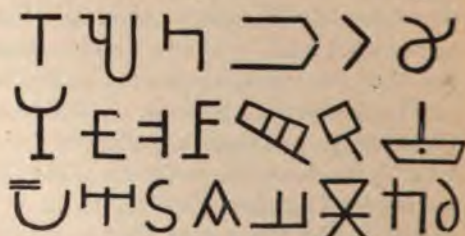


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sess great interest to the archæologist as proving the Chaldean origin of the building in question."

This latter statement, in view of the general Sassanian character of the building, must be modified. The Sassanians when in Assyria and Mesopotamia may have employed Assyrian masons, or they may have used the Assyrian or Khaldi alphabet marks or signs.*

I have given some forty examples of these marks in the memoir above alluded to, and I now enclose copy from my original note book of the same marks as made on the spot, some by myself and some by



COPIED BY MR. RASSAM.

Mr. Rassam, so that no error may creep into their representation as engraved.

* The "Mission to the Assyrians" under the auspices of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, have adopted that name both for the Khaldis and the so called Nestorians. The first were only so called when they were converted to Roman Catholicism, the latter has been shown to be a misnomer.

My object in doing this is to endeavour to obtain your opinion or that of any of the learned members of the Society of Biblical Archæology to whom you may be kind enough to show them, as to their meaning, if any.

The art of decyphering ancient writings, as for example in the Hittite inscriptions, has, under the auspices of the Society, attained to a perfection unknown in 1840, and some new light may be thrown upon the marks when seen by competent observers.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH.



THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN YEAR.

BY F. L. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

From the Middle Kingdom onwards the inscriptions inform us of a year of 365 days, which consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, making 360 in all, supplemented by five days at the end. It is generally supposed also that the regnal dates were calculated on the same year. I do not myself know of any evidence from which the exact length of the regnal year in the early times of Egyptian history can be ascertained. Professor Brugsch has already noted that the supplementary days *never* occur in regnal dates: what I wish to call attention to is the existence of a year of 360 days, perhaps already obsolete in the Middle Kingdom, yet leaving at least a number of distinct traces of its former prevalence—a year, the definite existence of which Professor Brugsch, while searching for a short year and a lunar year, in his great and invaluable work on the Egyptian calendar,* as well as in his latest utterances,† appears absolutely to ignore.

The word $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \Delta \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, “year,” in later times was beyond all question applied to the period of 365 days, but still denoted in certain calendrical expressions the year of 360 days. The supplementary days were called $\text{III} \begin{smallmatrix} \text{☉} \\ \text{II} \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \text{☿} \\ \text{II} \end{smallmatrix} \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \Delta \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, “the five (days) ADDED TO the year,”‡ and the last day of the twelve months—the 360th day immediately preceding the supplementary days, was still $\text{—} \begin{smallmatrix} \text{☿} \\ \text{II} \end{smallmatrix} \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \Delta \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, “the end of the year.”§ If we require any further proof, we have it in the contract inscription at Asyût,|| of the XIIth dynasty, where it is stated that the technical meaning of “a day of the temple” was $\frac{1}{360}$ of its annual revenue in food. All this points decidedly to a

* *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Ægyptiacarum*, II^o Abtheilung.

† *Ægyptologie*, p. 317 ff, and especially p. 347 ff.

‡ Professor Brugsch misses the point in the translation of the name, “die 5 überschüssigen Tage des Jahres” (the five surplus days of the year).

§ *Thesaurus*, p. 478, where the Professor perfectly recognises the meaning.

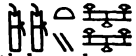
|| Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siût*, Tomb I, ll. 287 and 300.

year of 360 days having preceded that of 365 days : the nomenclature of the latter was in fact founded upon that of the former, which consisted of the bare twelve months.

The Egyptians, with their cloudless sky and regular seasons, must have observed the solar and lunar periods from the earliest times. The sun gave them days, the moon gave them months, the sun again (with the Nile) gave them years divided into three seasons. When they endeavoured to reduce days, months, and years into one scheme for the exact notation of time, they found sundry difficulties to contend with, for the days would not precisely fit into the months, nor the months into the years, and it would have been absurd for them to split up, *e.g.*, the last day of a month, and give half of it to the next. Europeans have solved the difficulties by devising months of unequal length, by dropping a day in Leap Year, and so forth : the Egyptians in their simplicity naturally sought for regularity and round numbers in their notation of time, and avoided the arithmetical difficulties of irregular months by sacrificing the true coincidence of the seasons. This sacrifice raised no real difficulties—the seasons were one thing, the notation of days, months, and years another. The month of June with us, implies summer ; to them the “first month of harvest,” the “second month of dry-land” no longer gave the idea of seasons, but only the measured *time*, although the names were still taken from the seasons. The agriculturist could still reckon his seasons as an independent calculation.

The word for month, , , , denoted by the crescent of the moon, proves beyond a doubt its lunar origin. The lunar month from new moon to new moon, or however else it may have been reckoned, is strictly twenty-nine and a half days : the convenient round number of thirty days lay very close to it, and was of course taken as the standard month. The solar year is $365\frac{1}{4}$ days (more difficult to observe than the lunar month, the intervals being longer), so that 360 days or twelve of the months was a very convenient and reasonable approximation to it. The months of the vague year were still apportioned amongst three nominal seasons (inundation, dry-land, and harvest) of four months or 120 days each, and so they remained in the later vague year of 365 days.

Besides the divisions of the year there were two multiples of it, which however do not appear in the ordinary calculations of time. One of these is the royal jubilee of 30 years               

the  of 120 * years, evidently a dual form. Such multiples do not belong to *mere* arithmetic, which in Egypt proceeded by powers of 10 and 2, but must have some special *raison d'être*. I have little doubt that they reproduce *in years* the month and season of 30 and 120 *days*: but I must add that there is no *year* of years (360 years). It would not be difficult to bring these periods into connection with the periods of coincidence between the 360-year of 12 approximate lunar months and the year of true lunar months. For instance, the latter would consist of 354 days + 8·8 hours, and the difference in 30 years would come out as a number of *complete days* to be deducted (*viz.*, 180 days or half a year *minus* 11 days) so as to regain the starting point; but for this and other coincidences which I have noted there is absolutely no evidence to show intention. Perhaps the most curious is that by neglecting the 8·8 hours we arrive at a whole year's revolution (6×60 days) in 60 years (the single *hnt*); and some misguided priest may have calculated the coincidence of the true year in this incorrect fashion and have raised the period of 60 years to a semi-sacred significance on the strength of his bad astronomy; although at the expiration of the 60 years, when the error of 8·8 hours would have risen to 22 days, his prophecy could easily have been proved false. But it is time to leave these useless speculations.

The addition of five days to the year was a very great improvement. The lunar year, or year of months, was indeed forsaken, but the exact solar year was approached within less than a quarter of a day, and this too with very little complication of the arithmetic: the months were still all equal, with 30 days in each, and only the 5 days at the end of each year had to be thought of besides, instead of our tedious additions of 28 or 29, 30 and 31 days.

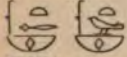
It is probable that , *up rnpt*, which seems to have meant several different things, in the XIIth dynasty calendrically denoted the first day of the month Thoth (or New Year's day), *of the 365 year*. That fact we gather from the contract inscription at Asyût, where the last of the supplementary days is the "night of *up rnpt*,"† and it is followed by the day of *up rnpt*. On the other hand

* *Thesaurus*, p. 203 ff.

† I take this to be a kind of "vigil," the night being spent in watching for the New Year to be ushered in at the dawn of New Year's day: there was also a night of *Uag* preceding the day of *Uag*.

☉ { *tp rnpt* may be the old New Year's day of the 360 year. Both *up rnpt* and *tp rnpt*, however, occur in the inscriptions of the Old Empire, where there is no other trace of a 365 year. The abundant lists of funereal feast-days, which are silent about the supplemental days under the Old Kingdom, between the beginning and the middle of the XIIth dynasty announce them in at least three places, at Beni-Hasan, Asyût and Abydos: and thereafter they are frequently mentioned. It may be that this is not accidental.

I have now reached my real aim in writing this paper; namely, to suggest an explanation for the "long year and short year"

 which are mentioned amongst the festivals in the XIIth dynasty inscriptions of Chnemhotep II * at Beni-Hasan—and nowhere else.

I think it very probable that the years are those of 360 and 365 days respectively, and not impossible that the Early Middle Kingdom was the short period of transition when both were recognized.

A passage in the inscriptions of Siut (Tomb IV, l. 83) takes back the history of the five supplementary days as far as the Heracleopolite dynasties (IX-X), and it should be observed that their connection with the Osirian myth (as birthdays of the deities)† implicate a very ancient origin for them.

POSTSCRIPT.—I find that in 1881,‡ Professor Krall stoutly upheld much the same views with regard to a year of 360 days and the origin of the *set* and *henti* periods. If I had known the drift of his memoir I should not have considered it necessary to write my hasty protest; but as he seems to stand alone amongst recent writers, the above remarks may be of some use. I should add that Professor Brugsch would identify the "great year" and the "lesser year" with the true solar and lunar years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ and $344\frac{1}{3}$ days: this idea is by no means unreasonable, but the two civil years of 365 and 360 days, which can be proved to have been in vogue in early times, have better claims.

* Tomb No. 3 of the Archæological Survey; most of the inscriptions are already well known by the publication in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, II, 123 ff. The calendrical feasts are treated by Brugsch in his *Thesaurus*, Vol. II, *passim*.

† See *Ägyptologie*, p. 362.

‡ "Studien zur geschichte des alten Aegypten I," in *Sitzungsberichte d. Wien. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Vol. XCVIII.

NOTE.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

More than thirty years ago, in his dissertation *On the various Years and Months of the Egyptians*, Dr. Hincks established, to the satisfaction of all the best Egyptologists of the day, two 'positions,' as he called them; the first of which had been laid down by M. de Rougé—

1. "That all the native Egyptian kings counted the years of their reigns from their respective accessions . . . ; and not, as Ptolemy counted the reigns of the kings in his canon, from the commencement of the civil year, nor from the commencement of any other sort of year."

2. "That the regnal years of the native Egyptian kings consisted of twelve months, or 360 days only; so that the commencement of each regnal year after the first was on a day of the civil year five days before the commencement of the preceding regnal year, and so that 73 regnal years would be equal to 72 civil years."

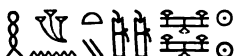
The same day, consequently, may belong to the 12th year of the king according to Egyptian, and to the 13th according to the Greek reckoning. M. Revillout is a better judge than myself as to whether this consideration solves the contradiction between the Egyptian and Greek dates of the demotic contract which he has been translating and discussing in these pages.

I agree with Mr. Griffith in most of his remarks, and not least with what he says, about certain useless speculations. But indubitable historical analogies deserve consideration.

Now the Persians until the downfall of the Sassanian dynasty had a year of 365 days exactly like the Egyptian. It consisted of twelve months, of thirty days each, together with five supplementary days. And like the Egyptians they had a period of 120 years. For what purpose?

A year of 365 days involves the loss of a quarter of a day yearly; therefore, of an entire day every four years, and of an entire month at the end of 120 years. The Persians would not intercalate a day

into any of the months, for fear of disturbing the order of their festivals and of their lucky and unlucky days ; so they waited until they could intercalate an entire month, and then the year was once more brought into harmony with the course of nature.

Did the Egyptian secular period  *hentâ* of 120 years serve such a purpose ?

We have no evidence, one way or the other, but the supposition is not without its intrinsic probability, and all chronological computations which leave it out of consideration are necessarily imperfect.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 5th April, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). "The Egyptian Book of the Dead." Continuation of translation and commentary.

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Sixth Meeting, 5th April, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the death of a former Vice-President of this Society, The Right Hon. Sir William H. Gregory, K.C.M.G., who died in London in his 76th year, on the 6th March.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Léon de Lantsheere. *De la race et de la langue des Hittites.* Bruxelles. 8vo. 1891.

From the Author:—M. de Rochemonteix. *La prononciation moderne du Copte dans la Haute-Égypte.* Paris. 8vo. 1891.

Extrait des Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris.
Tome VII.

[No. cvil.]

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From the Author:—Emilio Cuervo. *Estudio sobre el sistema evolucionista*. 8vo. Bogotá (Colombia). 1891.

From the Author:—Theo. G. Pinches. *Inscribed Babylonian Tablets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.* Translated and explained by Theo. G. Pinches. London. 4to. 2 parts. 1888.

Engraved Cylinder-seals and Signets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart. Described by Theo. G. Pinches. London. 4to. 1890.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. *Kleinere Inschriften aus dem Museum Guimet zu Paris.*

Zwei Sargfragmente aus Theben.

Kleine Inschriften aus dem Museum zu Karlsruhe.

Inedierten aegyptischen Inschriften des Louvre.

8vo. Bonn. 1891-92.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. *Das Blut im Glauben der alten Aegypter.*

From Am ur-quell. *Monatschrift für Volkkunde*. III Band.

IV Heft. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author:—Prof. E. Revillout. *Post-Scriptum à annexer à mon mémoire sur notre nouveau papyrus d'Hypéride*. Folio. 1891.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. *Degli Hittim o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni, ricerche di archeologia Biblico-italica*. Chap. XVII.

Civiltà Cattolica, Serie XV. Quad. 1002. 19 Mar. 1892.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 1st March, 1892, and were elected Members of this Society:—

Charles J. Redshaw, 23, Woodstock Road, Poplar, E.

Harry R. Hall, Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, 13, Chalcot Gardens, N.W.

J. H. Tritton, 36, Queen's Gate Gardens.

Charles Gatehouse, Westwood, Noctorum, Birkenhead.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next meeting, 3rd May, 1892:—

W. M. Bothwell, A.K.C., 27, Mansfield Road, N.W.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary of the following Chapters.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. Geo. Thorpe, F.S.A., Rev. James Marshall, Mr. James Offord, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

CORRIGENDA.

The line W.A.I. III, 61, 34a, cited February *Proceedings*, p. 151, may be rendered: "If Rimmon set (or close) his mouth, the millet on the ridges is thinned, is blasted."

Transcribe KA-*šu* SUB instead of *kā-šū-ru*.

Line 6, p. 160, "With majesty he is begirt, (his) form shoots forth terror," should perhaps run: "With majesty he is begirt, the august image he haunteth" (or "inhabiteth"). This agrees well with the general ideas of the piece. The god dwells in his new image after its consecration. It is needless to give instances of *ramū*, "to inhabit," or *bunnannē*, "form," "statue." But I will observe that ME-LAM or WĪ-LAM, "majesty" of a god or king, is the exact equivalent of the Chinese *wei-lāng* or *wi-lāng*, both in sound and signification.

ERRATUM.

Proceedings, March 1, p. 261, line 14, for "dropping," read "adding."



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER II.

Chapter for Coming forth by day and Living after death.

Oh thou Only One, (1) who shinest from the Moon, let me come forth amid that train (2) of thine, at large, (3) and let me be revealed (4) as one of those in glory. (5)

And when the Tuat is opened to the gods, let *N* come forth to do his pleasure upon earth amid the Living.

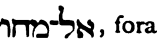
NOTES.

This chapter occurs in only two of the ancient MSS. collated by Naville: *Ae* and *Pf*. It is also found in the papyrus of Ani.

1.  'unicus,' the Sole and Only One, is one of the many appellatives of the Sun. He is here represented as shining *in* or *from* the Moon. Cf. note on Chapter 132.

2. , 'multitude, throng, train,' here put for the 'heavenly host,' the ἀκριτος ἄστρων ὄχλος (Euripid., *Fr* 596), or the Hebrew צבא השמים.

Osiris is , 'the leader of the host,' Sharpe, I, 105.

3. , , , foras, 'forth, out of doors, at large,' in opposition to enclosure in the tomb.

4. , explicare, 'disclose, unfold, reveal, make clear.'

5. Or 'among the Glorious ones,' .

CHAPTER III.

Another chapter like it.

Oh Tmu, who proceedest from Ur-henhenu, (1) who art resplendent as the Lion-faced, (2) and who strewest thy words to those who are before thee;

Here cometh the faithful *N*, from the band of those who do the bidding of thy words.

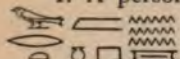
O ye seamen of Râ at the gloaming of the day, let *N* live after death, like Râ daily.

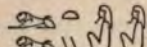
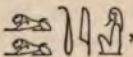
Here the helmsman: As Râ is born from Yesterday, so he too is born from Yesterday, and as every god exulteth in life, so shall *N* exult even as they exult in life.

I am Thoth as he goeth forth from the House of the Prince in Heliopolis. (3)

NOTES.

The only ancient copy of this chapter is in the papyrus of Amen-neb (*Ae*) and here it is imperfect.

1. A personification of Heaven as Water. The later texts read , 'the great goddess in the Water.'

2. The later texts have , implying the two lions Shu and Tefnut. But the older texts have , a single god, with a lion's face or form. The two notions, however, are found in combination in the Pyramid texts of Unas (l. 558) and Teta (l. 332).

3. See note 8 on Chapter 1.

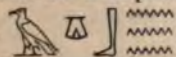
CHAPTER IV.

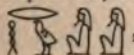
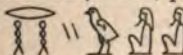
Another Chapter, for travelling on the road which is above the earth.

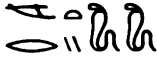
It is I who travel on the Stream (1) which divideth the divine Pair (2), I am come, let there be given to me the lands of Osiris.

NOTES.

This fourth chapter has not as yet been found in any of the papyri of the best period.

1. , literally 'weeping,' 'flood of tears,' hence 'overflow, inundation, stream or canal.' It is one of the names of the Nile on earth and in heaven and of his personification as a god. See Chapter 61, and *P.S.B.A.*, XIII, p. 8 and 9.

2. , or  are two divinities in opposition or contrast, like Set and Horus (chapter 17, 25) or the sister

goddesses named  *Mertà* (37, 1). Thoth is the umpire between Set and Horus (Darkness and Light) and mediates between them, but he and Râ (the Moon and Sun) are (Teta, l. 69) spoken of as the two Rehu gods travelling over the sky.

CHAPTER V.

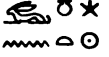
Chapter whereby work may not be imposed [upon a person (1)] in the Netherworld.

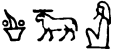
Here is .N. He saith, I am he who raiseth the hand which is motionless, and I come forth at the hour.(2) I am the living Soul,(3) and there go before me the longings (4) of those who bring salutation.(5)

NOTES.

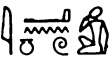
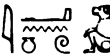
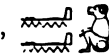
This chapter is found in several of the best MSS., but the text is extremely corrupt, and must have become absolutely unintelligible. The Turin text differs greatly from that of the older copies, and the transposition of words clearly shows how little the transcribers understood what they were writing. I follow chiefly the text of *Ac*, the papyrus of Nebseni.

1. These words only occur in the later copies.

2.  is the older reading, but  seems to be the more correct.

3. The oldest text must have had simply the ideographic . *Ac* gives  *Ba*, but *Pd* has  *Hnemu*. The 'living Soul' is that of the Sun, whether he is called Râ or Osiris.

4. 'Desires, wishes, loves,' literally, 'hearts.'

5.  signifies 'salute,' as in chapter 12, 1, and 14, 1. and ,  (with various other forms) the 'saluter.' is the name of the Ape who is seen in the vignettes of the papyri saluting the rising of the sun. See M. Naville's *Todtenbuch*, I, plates 21 and 22; the Papyrus of Ani, plate 2; the *Todtenbuch* of Lepsius, ch. 16 and 126.

I do not know how far it is correct to illustrate this undoubted origin of the Egyptian name for the Ape, as 'the saluting one,' by

the following extract of a letter to Cuvier from M. Duvaucelle, about the Siamang apes in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen in Sumatra. "They assemble in numerous troops and thus united, they salute the rising and the setting sun with the most terrific cries, which may be heard at the distance of many miles; and which, when near, stun, when they do not frighten. This is the morning call of the mountain Malays, but to the inhabitants of the town, who are unaccustomed to it, it is a most insupportable annoyance."

In this place of the Book of the Dead the sign  is a mere determinative of the sound *aân* with the notion of *salutation*, just as the sign  is a determinative of the sound *âb* with the notion of *thirst*.

The 'saluters' of the rising sun are neither real apes nor men but the "Spirits of the East" who, as we are told in an inscription of the tomb of Rameses VI, "effect the rising of Râ by opening the door at each of the four portals of the eastern horizon of heaven. They it is who light him on both sides, and go forth in advance of him And when he arises they turn into six cynocephali."*

CHAPTER VI.

Chapter whereby the funereal Statuettes may be made to do work for a person in the Netherworld.

O Statuette (1) there! Should I be called and appointed to do any of the labours that are done in the Netherworld by a person according to his abilities, lo! all obstacles have been beaten down for thee; be thou counted for me at every moment, for planting the fields, for watering the soil, for conveying the sands of east and west.

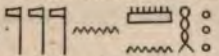
Here am I, whithersoever thou callest me.

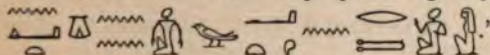
NOTE.

This chapter is inscribed on the funereal statuettes, of which enormous quantities are found; sometimes by hundreds in the neighbourhood of a single mummy. Much information on the subject, both archæological and philological, will be found in Mariette's *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, p. 25 and following, and in M. Loret's articles "Les Statuettes funéraires du

* Champollion, *Notices*, tom. II, p. 640.

transfixing the dragon. The chapter itself was said over a wax figure of the demon.

1. These wax figures of gods and other personages were used not only for ritual but for unlawful magical purposes. The Rollin papyrus reports about a criminal condemned to death for magical arts. He was charged for making  'gods of wax,'

and some men "for the purpose of paralysing the limbs of men .

 See Chabas, *Papyrus Magique*, p. 170, and Devéria, *Pap. judiciaire de Turin*, p. 131.

2. The more recent texts omit this ending and substitute, "I know, I know." Some MSS. have both readings.

CHAPTER VIII.

Chapter of opening the Tuat by day.

The Hour (1) discloseth what the head of Thoth keepeth close, who giveth might to the Eye of Horus. (2)

And I call upon the Eye of Horus which gleams as an ornament upon the brow of Râ, the father of the gods.

I am that Osiris, the Lord of Amenta, and Osiris knoweth his day, and that it is in his lot that he should end his being, and be no more. (3)

I am Sutu, the father of the gods, the imperishable one.

Stay, Horus, for he is counted among the gods.

NOTES.

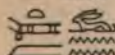
1. Time.

2. See note on Chapter 17, 27. It must be sufficient here to say that Thoth is a personification of the moon, and that the relations of solar and lunar phenomena are the sources of a great deal of Egyptian mythology.

3. This is one of the most difficult passages in the Book of the Dead, but I do not see how it can be grammatically understood otherwise.

'In his lot,' literally 'in him.'

'End his being': more strictly, 'bring to an end his activity';



. 'Being' (though inevitable in a modern language)

is much too abstract a word for these ancient texts.  implies 'motion, activity,' and  is not a simple negation, but implies 'completion, end' (τελέειν, τέλος), though not 'cessation.'

Our *modern* acceptance of the word 'perfect' is often wrongly applied to . We should think rather of such phrases as 'annum perficere,' 'sole perfecto.'

CHAPTER IX.

Chapter for opening the Tuat.

O Soul most mighty, (1) here am I: I am come to thee that I may see thee.

I open the Tuat that I may see my father Osiris and may drive away the darkness.

I am he whom he loveth. I have come to see my father Osiris, to pierce the heart of Sut, and to perform all duties to my father Osiris.

I open all the paths in heaven and upon earth.

I am the son who loveth his father, and I am come as a mummied one, glorious and well equipt.

Oh, all ye gods and goddesses, the path is made for me.

NOTE.

1.      'Soul most mighty,' is one of the principal names of Osiris. The whole chapter is spoken in the person of Horus, the son of Osiris.

CHAPTER X.

Chapter for coming forth victoriously.

I come forth victoriously against the adversaries.

I cleave the heaven, I open the horizon and I travel over the earth on foot. There come forward to me the Glorious and the Great ones, for I am furnished with numberless Words of Might.

I eat with my mouth, and I chew with my jaw; for, lo, I worship the god who is Lord of the Tuat, and that is given to me which endureth amid overthrow.

CHAPTER XI.

Chapter for coming out against the adversary in the Netherworld.

Here is the Osiris *N*.

O Eater of his arm, away from his path !

I am Râ coming forth from the horizon against his adversary, who shall not be delivered from me.

I have stretched out my hand, as the Lord of the Crown, and lifted my feet.

I shall not be given up; my adversary shall fall before me; he hath been given up to me and shall not be delivered from me.

I rise up like Horus, I sit down as Ptah, I am victorious as Thoth, and powerful as Tmu: I walk upon my feet, I speak with my mouth, searching for him who hath been given up to me; he shall not be delivered from me.

NOTE.

There is unfortunately no early text of this chapter, which we have in a very corrupt form, and can only restore conjecturally. The Eater of his arm is evidently Darkness, which is destroyed by the Sun.

CHAPTER XII.

Chapter for entering and for coming forth out of the Netherworld.

Salutation to thee, O Râ, who guardest the secrets of the gates (1) over this domain of Seb, and this Balance with which Râ raiseth up Maât (2) daily:

Here am I, who cleave open (3) the earth, grant that I may come and acquire advance in age. (4)

NOTES.

This chapter, like the next, occurs only in *Pa* among the older MSS. It comes twice in the Turin copy, being repeated as Chapter 120.

1. So *Pa*; the Turin copy has 'the Tuat.'

2. In many places it is important to treat *Maât* as a proper name.

3.  or , a word not confined to agricultural operations.

4. As the sun, who is represented as an infant at dawn and as an aged man at sunset.

CHAPTER XIII.

Chapter for entering after coming out from Amenta.

I enter as a Hawk and come forth as a Bennu (1) at Dawn.

Let the way be made for me that I may adore RÂ at the fair Amenta, and the locks (2) of Osiris. I urge on the hounds of Horus.

Let the way be made for me that I may adore Osiris, the Lord of Life.

NOTES.

This chapter, in the MSS. of which the Turin copy is the type, is repeated as Chapter 121, with the following rubric:—

“Said over an ear-ring of the flower *Ânch-amu*, put upon the right ear of the deceased person, with another ear-ring, put in fine linen, upon which is written the name of *N*, on the day of burial.”

1. The Bennu is a bird of the Heron kind. He is very commonly but, I think, erroneously identified with the Phoenix. The bird described by Herodotus, II, 73, was in outline and size “very like an eagle,” which no one could say of the Bennu. He appeared only once in five hundred years, whereas the Bennu appeared every day. The fable as told by the Greeks is utterly unsupported by any Egyptian authority known to us.

2. This passage is, unfortunately, both in the ancient and the recent forms, corrupt.

CHAPTER XIV.

Chapter for removing displeasure from the heart of the god against the deceased person.

Hail to thee, oh god who sendest forth (1) the Moment, who presidest over all the Secret things (2), and protectest the utterance of my words.

Here (3) is a god displeased against me; let wrong be overwhelmed and let it fall upon the hands of the Lord of Law. Remove (4) the impediments which are in me and the evil and the darkness (5), oh Lord of Law, and let that god be reconciled to me, removing that which detaineth me from thee.

Oh, lord of offerings in Kenu (6), let me offer to thee the propitiary offering by which thou livest, and let me live by it and be reconciled.

Let all the displeasure which is in thy heart against me be removed.

NOTES.

There is a very great difference between the earlier and the later texts of this chapter. Former translators, having chiefly the Turin text before them, have understood the title of the chapter as intended "to remove the impurities from the heart of the deceased person." The Turin text of the chapter is really unintelligible, and even in the earlier texts certain passages are so corrupt as to defy translation.

1.  like the Latin 'mittere' has the sense of "let go, give free course, set at liberty."

2. , the *secrets*, here as elsewhere in the funeral texts, are those of the tomb and of the world beyond the grave.

3. The older texts have , the later .

4. The Lord of Law is in the singular, but the imperative 'remove' is in the plural.

5. The word  was a puzzle to the oldest transcribers. It is susceptible of different meanings. The Turin text    'the god is joined with Law,' which is supported by some of the older papyri, is intelligible in itself, but not in this context. I have understood , coming as it does after , in the sense of  'deep darkness.'

6. The MSS. differ hopelessly on this proper name.



EUPHRATEAN STELLAR RESEARCHES.

BY ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

PART I. *The Tablet K. 2310.—Obverse.*

I.

This Tablet, a copy of which was given in the *Proceedings*, March, 1888, reads as follows:—

1.	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶𐎵
Kakkab]		Su - gi
<i>The-constellation] of-the-Chariot-yoke</i>		

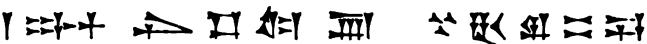
I would restore the rest of this line from K. 2894, Ob. l. 15: 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶; *tarbatsa, kakkabi ipaxxiru*; "sets, the stars set."

2.	𐎶	𐎶 𐎶𐎵
Kakkab]		Su - gi
<i>The-constellation] of-the-Chariot-yoke</i>		

And this from *Ibid.* l. 16: 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶; *kakkabi-su mim-ma satti nazusu*; "its stars during whatever year they are conspicuous." Even such a student as the late George Bertin, whose early death is a great loss to Assyriology, was so far from the facts of the case as to write, "The star *Su-gi* was Canopus;"* whereas, as the reader will notice, *Sugi* was not a star but a constellation, and we read in K. 2894, Ob. l. 15: *Sin ina libbi kakkabi Sugi tarbatsa*; "the Moon in the place of the constellation of the Chariot-yoke sets." *Canopus* (= *Argûs*), the Egyptian *Karbana*, the

* *Nature*, July 18, 1889.

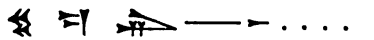
was clearly one of the 30 Stars in or near the ecliptic, which *Kaksîsa* or *Dusîsa** was not.†

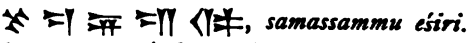
6. 
 Kakkab Kak - śi - śa sutruru : mati xa - ru - bi - e.
The-star The-Leader is-obsured : in-the-land locusts.

So in K. 2894, Ob. l. 20: *mati kharubie ikkalu*, "in the land locusts devour."

7. 
 Ina arkhi Duzu kakkab Kak - śi - śa kakkab Id - xu ikassidu.
*In the-month the-star the-Leader (and) the star the-Eagle are-in-the-
 Tammuz ascendant.*

Similarly, in *W.A.I.* III, liii, No. 1, Rev. l. 21, *Kaksîsa*, *Idxu* (otherwise *Erigu*, lit. "the Powerful-bird"), and the *Kakkab Bartabba* ("the Constellation of the *Twins*") are mentioned in connexion with the month Tammuz. Hommel supposes *Kaksîsa* to have been *Procyon*, because it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the *Twins*, i.e., *Castor* and *Pollux*,‡ a reason in itself quite insufficient, and which is contradicted by a number of other points in the case.


 Samassammu (Gk. *σῆσαμμ*) [*esiri*].
The-sesame [flourishing will be.]

= K. 2894, Ob. l. 21:  *Samassammu esiri*. This stellar connexion of sesame reminds us of the important part which the plant plays in various myths and folk-lore tales.§

* Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1889, p. 149. "The reading of *si-sa* for  is certain" (Mr. T. G. Pinches to R. B., Jr.).

† Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, p. 138; Feb. 1890, p. 190. As a writer in the *Academy* (Jan. 30, 1892) observes, "Prof. Hommel points out that most of the novel views on the subject [of Babylonian astronomy] announced by Dr. Jensen in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, will not stand the test of criticism, and represent retrogression instead of advance." But when the same writer adds, "Prof. Hommel has also identified . . . Bootes" (*Arcturus* ?), it must be remarked that the conclusion at which the German savant has arrived, had long before been reached by Prof. Sayce; and was also expressed by me tentatively in *Eridanus*, 1883, p. 60.

‡ Vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1890, p. 185.

§ Vide Sir G. W. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, 2nd edit., p. 441; R. B., Jr., *The Myth of Kirkê*, p. 79 et seq.; *Academy*, Jan. 30, 1892, pp. 110-11.

8. [𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶] 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 . . .
 Kakkab] Kak-si - ša ū kakkab Id - χu a - χa - i innamaru.
The-star] the-Leader and the-star the-Eagle together are-seen.

= K. 2894, Ob. l. 22. The meaning is not merely that the two stars are seen at the same time, but that two special stars which are not usually visible at the same time, were so seen; and "together" does not mean "near one another," but, rather, on opposite sides of the heaven; or, as astrologers would say, "in opposition" (♌), an aspect which they regard as "eminently unfortunate." Cf. *W.A.I.* III, lviii, 1: *Sin ū Samsu itti aχai innamaru*; "the Moon and the Sun together are seen," and then "king to king hostility sends." On another occasion when they are seen together, "a strong enemy the country spoils"; or, "of men the executioner the head cuts off."

(*W.A.I.* III, lxi, 7-9).

9. . . . 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎲𐎠𐎵𐎶
 Kakkab] Niru ana D.P. Samsi-atsi innamiru-su
The-constellation] the-Yoke at sunrise its-appearance (makes).

= K. 2894, Ob. l. 23.

10. [𐎲𐎠𐎵] 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 . . .
 Ana yu]-mi namru. Ruχ sadu. Enuva ruχ sutu . . .
At] daybreak (it is) bright. An east wind. When a south wind . . .

11. . . . 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵
 . . . innamiru-su sak-nu. Ina yu-mi innamiru; ruχ
 . . . its-appearance makes. At daybreak it-is-seen; a-tempest
 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎲𐎠𐎵 . . .
 sibu. Enuva . . .
 7 (days). Then . . .

Remembering that "the constellation of the *Yoke* = the *Goat-fish*" (*W.A.I.* III, lvii, No. 7, Sec. IV, 8A*), = *Capricorn*, we find that it was equally a stormy Sign in Hellenic regions. So Aratos:—

"Grievous blasts
 Break *southward* on the sea, when coincide
 The *Goat* and Sun."†

* Vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, p. 144.

† *Phainomena*, 291-3. *Muna-χa-Niru-Capricorn* was regarded as a very important constellation (vide *Proceedings*, Jan. 1890, pp. 140-51).

12. . . .                 

the solstices or equinoxes or to stars . . . showed that with regard to the more recent constructions given by Mariette from the time of Ramses III. to that of the Ptolemies, the sequence of construction demanded by the astronomical theory was precisely that resulting from Mariette's archæological researches, and that in every instance the reason for the change of an old temple or the erection of a new one could be clearly stated. . . . With such data as are now available the evidence suggests, although it cannot be said to prove, that many of the older temples, especially the temple of Karnak itself, occupy the localities of ancient shrines used as observing places about 4,000 B.C., and Mr. Lockyer pointed out that, with regard to the stars indicated by their amplitudes, namely, α Lyræ, α Columbæ, and γ Draconis, not to mention Canopus, which was observed later, these stars were those which appeared either on the eastern or western horizon at or before sunrise in these remote periods, precisely as the heliacal rising of Sirius took place at a much later date."

Let us consider next the Euphratean view of the four quarters. Whilst Egyptian Pyramids, except "the step pyramid of Sakhara," which is very Euphratean in character, were correctly oriented, Euphratean pyramidal temples were oriented thus:—

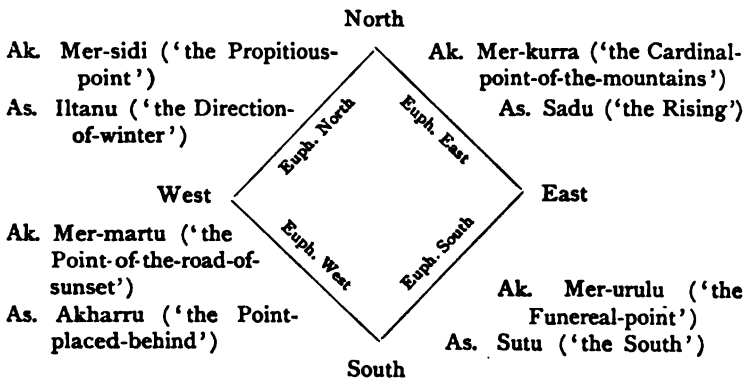


Fig. 1.—EUPHRATEAN ORIENTATION.

Here the 'propitious' North (N.W.) is opposite the 'funereal' South (S.E.), *i.e.*, the direction of the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf;

hence, a north wind is the proper breeze for a voyage to the Under-world. So says the Euphratean, Istar-Kirkê.*

τὴν δὲ κέ τοι πνοιὴ βορέας φέρησιν.†

The South and West are opposed to the North and East, the two former being connected with darkness and with all which that idea implies.‡

III.

The star-name 𐎧 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺 is transliterated by Prof. Sayce *Kak-si-di*, and rendered "Creator-of-prosperity." The first sign 𐎧, has the values *du, gag, kak, kal* (in As.), *ra, ru, tu*, and *uh*. The second 𐎶𐎵, is admittedly *si*; the third 𐎧𐎺, has the values *di* and *ša*. The Ak. *kak* is equated with the As. *episu*, "to make," and appears in the name of the archaic king Agu-*kak*-rimi ("The-moon-god-maker-of-light"); and Prof. Sayce renders 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺 (*IV.A.I.* II, lviii, 18), a name of the Pole-star, which at the time of the final ancient arrangement of the Euphratean scheme of the heavens was a *Draconis*—*Dayan-sidi* ("The-Favourable-judge"). In *IV.A.I.* V, xlvi, No. 1, l. 51, 𐎧 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺 is explained as *kak kab* 𐎧𐎺 𐎶𐎵 𐎧𐎺, *mes-ri-e*, on which Mr. Pinches writes me:—"Du-sisa is rendered in As. as *kakkab mēšre*, but what this means is difficult to say. *Mēšritu* (plu.) means 'limbs,' understood as 'leaders' or 'directors' (*ēšeru*, 'to direct,' cf. Heb. מְשִׁרֵּי). The Ak. *du-sisa* means '(the star) which makes directing.'" Bertin reads *kakšidi*, but I, for several reasons, prefer to read KAK-ŠISÁ (vide *sup.* p. 282),—"That-which-makes-leading," i.e., the Leader; and *Dayan-siša* ("The-Judge-directing") as the name of the immoveable Pole-star. In *IV.A.I.* II, xlix, 47, *Kakšiša* is explained, if the reading be correct, by the As. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Su-ku-nu*, which I would compare with the Heb. מְשִׁרֵּי, an "inflamed ulcer or boil," as applied

* "Your comparison of the myth of Kirkê with that of the lovers of Istar, is as self-convincing as your discovery that Athamas is Tammuz" (Prof. Sayce *R. B.*, Jr., Nov. 9, 1883).

† *Odysseia*, X, 507.

‡ According to Mr. A. L. Lewis, apropos of "Three Stone Circles in Cumberland," "the circle builders followed the Babylonians rather than the Egyptians in their rules of orientation" (Paper at the Anthropological Institute, ap. *Academy*, 23, 1886).

to a star blazing, and considered to be *disastrous*; for, as we shall see, two distinct lines of thought, one Akkadian and Aryan, and the other Semitic, are connected with this star. But another reading is *Su-ku-du*, "the Restless," *i.e.*, eager, impetuous, blazing. *Kakšisa* was one of the seven *lu-mâsi** or "Sheep-of-the-Hero"; and was also one of "the twelve Stars of the West" (*W.A.I.* II, xlix, 4). It rose "in the days of variable storms (and) heat," and was "like bronze" (*Ibid.* I, xxviii, 14); and, as noticed (*sup.* p. 282), was particularly connected with the month Duzu. In *W.A.I.* II, xlix, 15, we read:—

𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭	𒀭𒀠𒀭
Kakkab	Kak-ši	-	ša		asru	rabu	sami	:	damaku.
The-star	the-Leader				station	great	of-the-heaven	:	prosperous.

Asru, as noticed,† is a technical term applied to special and important heavenly localities, *e.g.*, to the lunar mansions. The star which answers to the various items in the above description is *Sirius*; and that *Kakšisa* is *Sirius* was the opinion of Bertin, who states that, in a passage which is not before me, it is described as "a star of the south." Prof. Sayce also holds the identity of the two. The theories which identify *Kakšisa* with *Ursa Minor* or *Antares* need not be discussed; Prof. Hommel is certainly nearer the fact with *Procyon*, and if, as Prof. Sayce holds,‡ Jensen is right in regarding the *lu-mâsi* stars as "being grouped as twins," the word *mâsi* being here used in a secondary and Semitic sense, then *Kakšisa* is a "twin"-star as one of the *Dogs*, the lesser of which has been styled the *Northern Sirius*.

IV.

Elsewhere§ I have endeavoured to illustrate the line of thought which induces man to imagine sky-dogs. The Sun is a hunter, a hunter is attended by dogs, the solar hunter Duwuzi-Tammuz becomes reduplicated in the brightest of constellations *Orion*, whilst the dogs reappear in stars adjacent. In *W.A.I.* II, vi, 19, where the Akkadian name is lost, we have the Assyrian equivalent *Kalbu*

* *W.A.I.* III, lvii, 53-6; vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1889, p. 149.

† *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 204.

‡ *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, 49.

§ *Eridanus*, p. 9 *et seq.*

Samas, "Dog of the Sun"; and in *W.A.I.* II, xlix, 63, we find the $\rightarrow \vdash \rightarrow \vdash \mid \nabla \rightarrow \vdash \blacktriangleleft \vee$, Ak. *Mul Lik Ud*, "Star-Dog-of-the-Sun." *Procyon*, as noticed,* is probably *Kakkab Pallika* (otherwise *Paldara*), "the Star of the Crossing-day," i.e., the Dog who comes the first of the two. The great constellational *Dog* (*Canis Major*) appears on a Euphratean boundary-stone in the same attitude as on our modern star-maps;† and on other boundary-stones, often incorrectly styled Zodiacs, e.g., those figured in *W.A.I.* III, xiv, the stellar *Dog* is a prominent figure.‡ We meet him similarly amongst the emblems of the host of heaven on the Stone of Merôdax Baladan I. Carried westward, like other constellation-figures, we find the pair of *Dogs*, one on either side of the *Scorpion*, figured on

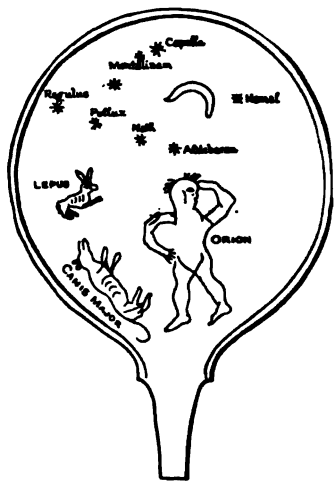


Fig. 2.

a circular object of ivory found on the site of Troy;§ whilst an Etruscan mirror (Fig. 2) shows *Orion*, *Canis Major*, and *Lepus*, together with the Crescent-moon and some single stars depicted with remarkable fidelity to fact.|| Other Euphratean examples of the stellar *Dog*, or instances showing direct Euphratean influence are:—

Cylinder bearing *Dog couchant* below *Bull*; to right, human figure carrying *Goat* (= *Capella*) near Crescent-moon ¶ (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 1).

Cylinder bearing *Dog couchant* on stand or altar, with two similar stands, one surmounted by the Crescent-moon (*Ibid.* Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 4).

* *Proceedings*, Feb., 1890, p. 190.

† Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, pp. 246-7, 271.

‡ Vide R. B., Jr., in the *Academy*, Jan. 9, 1892, p. 43.

§ Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 601, No. 1497.

|| Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, CCXLIII, A, No. 3.

¶ "In Accadian times the commencement of the year was determined by the position of Capella, called *Dilgan*, 'the messenger of light,' in relation to the new moon at the vernal equinox" (Sayce, *Herodotus*, p. 402).

Cylinder bearing *Dog couchant*; over his head a large six-rayed star; to left Crescent-moon, to right figure of priest invoking (*Ibid.* Pl. XL, Fig. 2).

Cylinder bearing pattern (repeated) of *Dog* (= *Canis Major*), over whom a circle (= star), pursuing *Hare* (= *Lepus*) (*Ibid.* Pl. XLI, Fig. 2). Cf. Aratos:—

“And ceaselessly beneath *Orion's* feet
The *Hare* is ever chased. For, from behind
The constant *Scorcher* (= *Sirius*) comes as in pursuit,
And rises with it, and its setting spies.”*

Cone with cuneiform inscription, bearing *Dog couchant* (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XLVI, Fig. 23).

Similar cone, bearing *Dog couchant* (*Ibid.* Fig. 24).

Cylinder with cuneiform inscription, and bearing *Dog couchant*, above which *Goat* (*Capella*?) *salient*; to right, human figure with raised right hand (*Ibid.* Pl. LIV, B., Fig. 15).

Cylinder with cuneiform inscription, and bearing *Dog couchant*, before whom human figure with left hand raised (Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, No. 63).

V.

I have given † reasons for thinking that *Kak-ban*, a comparatively late name of *Sirius*, may = *Kalbu*, “dog”; but a further question arises respecting the meaning of the word *kak* in this connexion, since it also appears in some animal-names, e.g., the fallow deer was called in Akkadian 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦 *dara bar*, and *dara bar kak* (𒌦𒌦), and the gazelle was called 𒌦, and 𒌦 𒌦 (vide *W.A.I.* II, vi, 11–12, 14–15). What was the phonetic value of 𒌦 here may be doubtful, but that 𒌦 = *kak*, as the Rev. Wm. Houghton‡ gives it, is very clear.§ Now, without in the least denying the meaning

* *Phainomena*, 338–41. The problem, which perplexed the ancients, why the Mighty-hunter and his Dog should pursue the most timid of creatures, is solved when we recognize that *Orion* was originally a solar type, and that the Hare is almost universally a lunar type (vide Hahn, *Tsuni* 11 *Goam*, 137 *et seq.*; Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii, 76–8; R. B., Jr., *Eridannus*, sec. IV).

† *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 271.

‡ *Transactions*, V, 370.

§ Cf. the Turkic *guyk*, ‘stag.’ The phonetic value of an Akkadian word whose meaning is known, may frequently be determined by comparison with modern Turanian forms.

commonly given to the Akkadian word *kak*, it is not merely possible, but also extremely probable, considering the above connexion, both stellar and animal, that it had, like so many Akkadian words, another meaning, and that one connected with some animal-name. Animal-names frequently, in the course of time and in different places, become specialized, or are transferred from one creature to another. To take a familiar Aryan instance, and one connected with the stag, we find:—Gk. *θηρ*, Lat. *fera*, Eng. *deer*; nor, again, would any one contend that because *lik* is the ordinary, it is therefore the only, Akkadian dog-word. Thus, in English, though “dog” be the usual name of the animal, yet “hound” is the older and more wide-spread appellation. We are, therefore, fairly entitled to inquire whether, amongst the Turanian languages, as those which are akin to Akkadian, there exist any similar dog-words, and the answer is highly curious. Amongst other dog-words we find the following:—

Basque...	...	<i>Chak-urra, zak-ur.</i>
Brahui ...	...	<i>Kuch-ak.</i>
Nepal ...	...	<i>Kuch-úng.</i>
		<i>Khi-chá.</i>
		<i>Koch-úwá.</i>
		<i>Koch-uma.</i>
		<i>Khlich-a.</i>
		<i>Koch-ú.</i>
		<i>Kuk-ur.</i>
		<i>Kuk-ol.</i>
Bengal ...	...	<i>Kúk-úr, kúh-ok.</i>
Central India ...	...	<i>Kuk-kúr.</i>
S. India ...	...	<i>Kuk-ka.</i>
Sanskrit ...	...	<i>Kukk-ura</i> (evidently a borrowed form).

These are the longer forms, but in most cases abrasion has worn down the word to a single syllable, thus:—

Circassian	...	<i>Khah, koy.</i>
Chinese	...	<i>Kau, k'eu.</i>
Tibetan	...	<i>Kou, khi, khwah, khyi.</i>
Nepal ...	...	<i>Khi, khia, khli, kui, ku.</i>
Bengal...	...	<i>Kai, kui.</i>
Burmah	...	<i>Khwe, khwa, ku.</i>

And to these we may add from the lists in Strahlenberg,* the Mantchu *kuh*, Tangugubti *ky*, Koroeiki *kuh*, and Kubatschin *koy*. With which compare the Mongol *no-khai*, Buriat *no-koi*, Vogul *ku-sa*, Mordvin *ku-tu*, East Mordvin *kut-ka*, Zyrianian *ki-ci*, Votaic *ku-ca*, Magyar *ku-tya*, Finnic *koi-ra*, and Tungusic *kaçikan*. Thus we find the existence of a very widely-spread Turanian (*i.e.*, non-Aryan and non-Semitic) dog-word in K- χ , of which probably the best representatives are the Basque *chakurra*, the Sanskrit *kukkura*, and the Nepal *kochúwá*; and it may be observed that such a form as the Nepal *KhLI χ a* combines the general Turanian K- χ with the Akkadian form *lik*, and seems to suggest that the latter is an abraded variant. *Lik* seems to have meant "beast," and to have been specialized, for the Dog is *Lik-ku*, "the domestic *Lik*"; the Lion *Lik-max*, "the great *Lik*"; the Hyæna *Lik-bar-ra*, "the striped *Lik*"; the Wolf *Lik-bi-ku*, "the greedy *Lik*." The base of the general dog-word is probably onomatopoeitic. Such forms as the Bengal *eki* and *iki* very likely represent the Akkadian *lik* still further abraded, and in two Burmese dialects the name has dwindled to *u-i*. It is therefore neither impossible nor improbable that the Akkadian star-name KAK-*sisá* may, after all, mean "the Beast (Dog) who leads" (the heavenly host), and not merely "the Leader."

VI.

Kaksísa is said to be a star of the west, and remembering that the Euphratean W: is the S.W. (vide *sup.* p. 285), this is perfectly true of *Sirius*, which with us is a S.E. (= Euphratean S.) star in January, a S. (= Euphratean S.W.) star in February and March, and a S.W.) star in April. The Tablet referred to broadly divides 24 stars into "Stars of Akkad" (= E. and N.) and "Stars of the West" (= W. and S.).

But *Kaksísa* is further specially connected with the month Duzu (= Tammuz, June-July), and it is said to rise "in the days of storms and heat" (*sup.* p. 287); and on the Tablet before us its rising at day break (*i.e.*, its heliacal rising) is connected with the beginning of a north wind. "The heliacal rising of *Sirius*" has been already (*sup.* p. 285) mentioned in connexion with archaic religious observances. Somewhat prior to B.C. 2000, the final Euphratean formal

* *Hist. of Siberia*, Eng. edit., 1738.

scheme or chart of the heavens had been compiled *; and, to take a particular date, on July 10, B.C. 2000, *Sirius*, as seen from Babylon, rose heliacally and was only visible shortly before sunrise. It is a commonplace in the Classics that the βορέαι ἑτησίοι, the *aquilones etesiae*, the "periodical" N.W. (= Euphratean N.) winds blow for so many days from the rising of *Sirius*. Aratos, speaking of the days of the *Lion*, the sign of the month Duzu, says:—

"These are the hottest pathways of the sun";

the "days of heat" of the Tablet,

"On the wide sea then fall with sudden force
Whistling Etesian blasts.

Then do broad ships best suit the deep, and then
May helmsmen keep the rudder to the wind."†

These are the "days of storms" of the Tablet, and *Kaktisa*, the Star of July, is the Homeric "Star of Summer that above all others glitters bright [*Sirius* is far brighter than *Canopus*, the second in splendour of the starry host,] when he hath bathed in the Ocean-stream."‡ So Aratos says of *Canis Major*:—

"His portentous jaw

Bears at the end a star which scorches most,
Resplendent; so men it the *Scorcher* call.

When he, growth-checking, rises with the sun,
No more do vineyards cheat with leaves alone;
In his swift course throughout the rows he sifts
With ease; some strengthens, others quite destroys."§

And Hésiod speaks of "the season of toilsome summer" when "goats are fattest, wine is best, and men weakest, since Seirios parches head and knees."|| The grape-clusters are to be carried home at the culmination of *Orión* and *Seirios*.¶ Here is an archaic Dionysiac connexion between *Kaktisa-Sirius*, the Sun, the Vine (the Akkadian *gesdin*, "tree-of-life"), and the Goat, an animal so

* Vide R. B., Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, 81 *et seq.*

† *Phainomena*, 149, 152-5.

‡ *Iliad*, V, 5-6.

§ *Phainomena*, 329-35.

|| *Erga*, 582-5. There is a close connexion in idea between Seirios and Hélios-Surya-Sol (vide Diod. I, 11; Hésiod, *Erga*, 573. Ilēsykhios defines Seirios as ὁ ἡλιος καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυνὸς ἀστήρ).

¶ *Erga*, 601-9.

prominent and important in a stellar connexion. The north-west wind, though accounted stormy and dangerous in Hellenic, is, in many respects, favourable and refreshing in Euphratean regions,* and comes from the Euphratean north, the Akkadian *Mer-sidi* ("the Propitious-point"), otherwise *Mer-sisa* ("the Leading-point"). As the same stars and constellations have different names, *Kakšisa* may well be identical with the Star "*Dog-of-the-Sun*," which is, in effect, the Homeric name of *Sirius*,

ὄν τε κύν' Ὀρίωνος ἐπικλήσιν καλέουσιν.†

"Brightest of all is he," therefore fit to be the Dog of the Sun, which latter is the original Uru-ana, Ὀριών,‡ "Light-of-heaven," § as the Moon is *Uru-ki*, "Light-of-the-earth." "The greater part of the Antients," observes Sherburne, "assign the Dog-Stars rising to the time of the Sun's first entering into *Leo*, or as *Pliny* writes, 23 days after the Summer Solstice, as *Varro* 29, as *Columella* 30. . . At this day with us, according to Vulgar computation, the rising and setting of the said Star is in a manner coincident with the Feasts of St. *Margaret* (which is about the 13th of our *July*) and St. *Laurence* (which falls upon the 10th of *August*), as this common Verse expresses it,

Margaris Os Canis est, Caudam Laurentius affert."||

In the *Eisagôgê eis ta Phainomena* of Geminos the Rhodian, cir. B.C. 77, occur the following memoranda under the heading *Χρόνου τῶν ζωδίων* (cap. xvi):—

"The Sun passes through the *Crab* in 31 days.

On the 11th, according to Eudoxos, *Orion* rises at daybreak (εὐφωγῆς)

On the 23rd, according to Dositheos [who made some stellar observations B.C. 200], in Egypt the *Dog* appears.

On the 25th, according to Metôn [cir. B.C. 430], the *Dog* rises at daybreak.

On the 27th, according to Euktêmôn [an Athenian and contemporary of Metôn], the *Dog* rises. According to Eudoxos, the *Dog* rises at daybreak, and during the 5 following days the Etesian Winds blow.

* Cf. *Cant.* iv, 16.

† *Ilias*, XXII, 29.

‡ Korinna, *Fragment* ii.

§ Vide R. B., Jr., *The Myth of Kîrkê*, 146 et seq.

|| *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius*, 1675, p. 32.

On the 28th, according to Euktêmôn, the *Eagle* rises at daybreak ; stormy weather at sea begins.

The Sun passes through the *Lion* in 31 days.

On the 1st day, according to Euktêmôn, the *Dog* is conspicuous

On the 5th day, according to Eudoxos, the *Eagle* sets at day-break."

Other Classical Calendars have similar entries. So, in a Latin translation from Ptolemy, giving the *Inerrantium Stellarum Significationes*,* we find :—

"Julius. Id. *Canicula* exoritur. *Etesiae* inualescunt.

XVII. *Orion* exoritur, et violentus flat *Aquilo*.

XIII. *Sol* in *Leone*. *Canis* exoritur.

XII. *Etesiae* cum aliis ventis per unum et viginti flant dies.

X. *Aquila* occidit.

IX. *Leo* cum *Sole* exoritur et *Cane*.

VIII. *Canis* emergit.

VII. *Aquila* occidit.

VI. *Canicularis* æstus.

V. Vehementer calores. *Etesiae* valenter spirant.

III. *Aquila* occidit matutino, aërque turbidus fit."

The other remarkable constellation at this season, it will be observed is the *Eagle*, which was connected with stormy weather. Thus Aratos :—

"And nigh [the *Bird*] a second sails

Lesser in size, but dangerous to come

From ocean when night flies ; the *Eagle* named.†

The *Lion* comes ; those [constellations] setting with the *Crab*
Pass wholly, and the *Eagle*."‡

"Egyptiorum annum magnum," says Censorinus, "quem Graece *κυνικόν*, Latine canicularem vocamus, propterea quod initium illius sumitur, cum primo die eius mensis, quem vocant Aegyptii *Θεουθοί*, caniculae sidus exoritur."§ B.C. 45 the 1st Thoth = 27th August, B.C. 1422 it = 20th July,|| therefore B.C. 2000 it = 30th June.

* Ap. Petavius, *Uranologion*, p. 98.

† *Phaenomena*, 313-15.

‡ *Ibid.* 590-1.

§ *De Die Natali*, XVIII.

|| Vide Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, III, 103.

VII.

Classical authors, therefore, point strongly towards the identification of *Idxu* (*sup* p. 282) with *Aquila*, or rather with *Altair* (*a Aquilæ*).^{*} The astronomical point of view confirms this conclusion, for, at the date and latitude in question, *i.e.*, July 10, B.C. 2000 at Babylon, *Altair* occupied a position low down in the N.W. horizon, exactly opposite to *Sirius*, and they would be visible together for a short period. Hence we see the force of line 8 of our Tablet, as already explained. These two stars are never visible together in England. We must next ascertain whether other references in the Inscriptions to the Star of the *Eagle* are consistent with this view. In *W.A.I.* III, lvii, 40, we read :—

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧
Kakkab	Uz,	Kakkab	Ner-zak	Za-ma-ma,	û
The-star	the-Goat,	the-star	Nerzak	of Zamama,	and

𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧
kakkab	Id - xu	3	kabbaki.	
the-star	the-Eagle,	three	stars.	

The second star appears to be *Jupiter* (vide *W.A.I.* II, lvii, 53).[†] *Uz*, as we have seen,[‡] = *Algedi* (α^1 and α^2 *Capricorn*), and the passage implies that the *Eagle* is near the head of *Capricorn*. In our Table (l. 9), as in K. 2894, l. 23, the scribe, having mentioned the appearance of *Kakšisa* and *Idxu* at the same time, refers next to the constellation of the *Yoke* (= the *Goat-fish*) as being visible at sunrise, accompanied by an east wind, "*oriens flatuosus*," as *Geminus* observes of the 27th day of *Cancer*, evidently alluding to *Capricorn*, as just showing beneath *Aquila*.

In *W.A.I.* III, lii, 2, we read :—

14. 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧	𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎧
Kakkab	Id - xu	ana	kakkab	Lu - bat	dixu :
The-star	the-Eagle	to	the-star	Jupiter	(is) opposite :

^{*} Of course a Euphratean *Eagle* or *Bear* is not necessarily identical with a Greek *Eagle* or *Bear*. Bertin (*Nature*, July 18, 1889) identifies *Idxu* with *Altair*, but gives no particulars.

[†] "The Eagle of Zamama" is a name of Ninip, and *Jupiter* is called "the Star of the Eagle of Zamama" (vide Sayce, *Transactions*, III, 171).

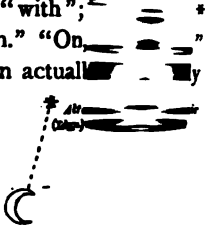
[‡] *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 145.

17.      
 Kakkab Id - χu ina libbi Sini nazuz :
The-star the-Eagle over the-place of-the-Moon is-fixed :

18.       
 Kakkab Id - χu ina karni amuti Sini nazuz :
The-star the-Eagle over the-horn right of-the-Moon is-fixed :

19.       
 Kakkub Id - χu ina karni sumeli Sini nazuz :
The-star the-Eagle over the-horn left of-the-Moon is-fixed.

The preposition , *ina*, has the meanings "in," "by," "with"; and, in the above lines 18 and 19, Prof. Sayce renders it "on." "On," of course, means "over," and no bright star is ever seen actually impaled, so to speak, *upon* a horn of the moon. At first, not rightly understanding this passage, I was inclined to regard *Idχu* as an ecliptic-star;† but this view is erroneous, and the above-mentioned position of *Idχu* and Sin is exactly that of *Altair* with the Moon during her last quarter, thus:—

Fig. 3 

There are several other statements in the passage about *Idχu*, but they do not assist in its identification. The eagle or some other large bird of the kind is depicted on various cylinders. If we can thus fix the identity of *Idχu* with *Altair*, and of *Kaksita* with *Sirius*, and really there seems to be scarcely any room for doubt upon the matter, an important advance will have been made towards the identification of Euphratean stars generally.

VIII.

"In Semitic times," says Prof. Sayce, "the dog was as distasteful to the Babylonians as he was, and is, to the Semitic inhabitants of other parts of the world." And after some allusions to the dog in the later literature, he says, "The dog has become a hateful creature, and what divinity he has is of a demoniac character."‡ And Sir

* Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, 2nd edit., p. 100.

† "M. Oppert wishes to identify *Idkhu* with the Southern Balance" (*Saunders Transactions*, III, 174).

Rel. Ancient Babs., p. 289.

Dog-star lore passed from the Semitic Babylonians through Phœnicians and other Western nations to the Greeks, therefore it is that in Hellenic regions we find *Sirius* an ill-omened star. "For an evil sign is he set, and bringeth much fever upon hapless men." * And so, on the Greek ideas connected with the dog generally, Mr. Ruskin comments, "The power of evil passion is partly associated with the red and scorching light of *Sirius*, as opposed to the pure light of the Sun :—he is the dog-star of ruin." † But this is not the aspect in which the Akkadian *Dog-star*, Creator-of-happiness and Leader, is regarded ; and similarly, amongst the Eastern Aryans, who doubtless borrowed much from non-Semitic Euphratean sources, the *Dog-star* is equally the Leader and Prince of the heavenly host. So Plutarch gives the Persian view :—'Ωρομάζης [*Ahuramazda*] . . . τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστροῦ ἐκόσμησεν, ἓνα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἶον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκάτισται τὸν Σείριον.‡ Προόπτης is almost an exact translation of *Kakšiša* ("Leader") ; and the Sacred Books of Persia contain many praises of the star *Tistrya* or *Tistar* (= *Sirius*),§ "the chieftain of the east," || though, as Mr. E. W. West observes :—"Sirius can be considered the chieftain of the eastern stars only when it rises before daybreak, which it does at the latter end of summer." ¶ In the *Tistar-Yasht* (*Khordah-Avesta*, XXIV, 8) we read :—"The Star *Tistrya*, the shining, majestic, we praise, who brings hither the circling years of men"; ** a statement which implies that, as in Egypt, *Sirius* was connected with the commencement of the year, or of a year.

Kakšiša is said to have been "like bronze" (*sup.* p. 287), and Mr. H. Sadler, alluding to the alleged change of colour in *Sirius*, which is stated to have "appeared red in the days of Ptolemy," after remarking that it is now "one of the whitest stars in the heavens," observes, "This question has been discussed by Prof. Schjellerup in his work *Descriptions des Étoiles fixes par l'Astronome Persan Abd-al-Rahman Al-Sûfi*, and it appears to be almost certain that the attribution of the colour in question [red] to *Sirius* arises from the error of a copyist, and that this brilliant star . . . has not really changed its hue." But Mr. J. N. Lockyer says, "The colours

* *Ilias*, XXII, 30.† *Queen of the Air*, p. 1, 29.‡ *Peri Isidos*, xlvii.§ Darmesteter, *Ormuzd et Ahriman*, p. 277.|| *Bundahis*, II, 7.¶ *Sacred Books of the East*, V, 12.** *Ap. Spiegel and Bleek*, III, 50.

of the stars change . . . We read [he does not say where] that Sirius, which is now *green* was red; that Capella, which is now pale blue, was also red";* and he adds that Tycho Brahe observed the new star of 1572 change "from white to yellow, and then to red." I presume that *Sirius*, which appears white to the naked eye, is found to be a "green star" under more careful observation. The Babylonians also could well distinguish stellar colours; thus the star *Papsukul* is said to be "yellow-green," and the star *Ugaga* to be "greenish-yellow," whilst *Mercury* is "the Blue-star." It seems to be clear, then, that the colour of a star may change. But, as a matter of fact, on turning to Ptolemy's star-list, we find that he does not describe *Sirius* as "red," but distinguishes *Arcturus* (now, *par excellence*, the Yellow-star), *Aldebaran*, *Antares*, *Betelgeuse* (now three red stars), *Pollux* and *Sirius* as being each *ἰσόχρῶς* = saffron-yellow, which very fairly answers to the "bronze"-colour attributed by the Tablet to *Kakšisa*.

I have at length been able to decypher the star-name in Tablet K. 2894, Ob. l. 1. It is clearly *Nun-ki* ("Prince-of-the-Earth"); and as *Idxu* is also mentioned in the Tablet, my suggestion that *Nunki* is *Altair* must be abandoned, and *Nunki* will probably be *σ Sagittarii*. This, a third magnitude star in Ptolemy, exactly suits the conditions in the *Thirty Stars Tablet*, as being Star No. XXIX, between the *Bow*-stars and the *Goat-fish*; and the original "Prince-of-the-earth" will be the presiding divinity of the month, the Death-god Nergal, a *Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος*, whose "throne was placed in Hades, where he sat [like *Aïdôneus*, cf. *Ilias*, XX, 62] crowned, awaiting the entrance of the dead."† The *Bow*-stars will, in this case, be divided between *Anunit* and *Sinuntu*. Mr. E. B. Knobel has supplied me with the following figures relative to stellar position:—B.C. 2000, *Sirius*; Right Ascension $57^{\circ} 25' 52''$, Declination $-19^{\circ} 31' 1''$. *Altair*; Right Ascension $248^{\circ} 54' 37''$, Declination $+7^{\circ} 28' 31''$.

Mr. J. F. Hewitt applies to *Sirius* the passage *Rig-veda* I, c 1 xi. 13, where "the Dog" (*śvánam*) is said to awaken the *Ribhus*, "the gods of mid-air," and thus call them to their office of rain-sending, and he considers that *Sirius* is the *Tishya* of *Rig-veda* X, lxiv, 8.

* *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, p. 24.

† Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 195.

IX.

The *Yoke* (*Tablet*, l. 9) is probably a popular name for the constellation of the *Goat-fish*, arising from its appearance,* thus:—

os ————— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{O}^{\alpha} \\ | \\ \text{O}^{\beta} \end{smallmatrix}$, just as the *Bears* are “called *Wains*,”†

because “wainlike,”‡ though not bearlike. The following remarkable representation of the *Goat-fish*, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere, is figured by Landseer, *Sabaeen Researches*, 1823, p. 288, from a Babylonian agate belonging to “Miss Porter, the sister of Sir Robert, the distinguished oriental traveller and artist. . . . It is the Capricorn of the Babylonian zodiac; and the mechanical figure



Fig. 4.

beneath is an early and rude attempt to shew, by means of measured degrees, the portion of that zodiac which was occupied by the stars of Capricorn. If I mistake not the most ancient division of the armillary zones of the sphere—but more especially of the ecliptic—was into sixty parts. . . . Drummond quotes Bailly in proof that ‘the circle was originally divided into 60 degrees; and consequently each sign of the zodiac must have been divided into five parts.’ Five must have belonged to Capricorn, as is displayed in this Babylonian engraving. . . . The figuring of this sign has undergone no other change in its transmission from the primitive astronomical ages to the present, than the addition of a sort of heraldic flourish in his marine tail.”§ Considering the importance of “60,” “the [Akkadian] mathematical unit,” and “in fractions the understood denominator” (Sayce), an archaic division of the circle into 60 parts (degrees) would seem, in the abstract, to be highly probable; but I do not know of any instance in the Inscriptions. “The divisions of the circle which we find employed,” observe Messrs. Bosanquet and Sayce, “are those into 8, 12, 120, 240, and 480 parts”;|| and they suppose the well-known passage (*W.A.I.* III, lii, 37) which defines the year as 12 months and

* Vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 146.

† Aratos, *Phainomena*, 27.

‡ *Ibid.* 93.

§ *Sabaeen Researches*, p. 290. Landseer deserves great credit for having fully grasped, at that early period of Euphratean research, the astronomical importance of the representations on the cylinders, &c.

|| *The Babylonian Astronomy*, p. 108, in the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. XL, No. 3.

360 days, to be "the work of a commentator, or perhaps of an inaccurate writer or copyist." This latter supposition is, I think, quite untenable, and as there were admittedly five Euphratean ways of dividing the circle, we shall find no great difficulty in believing that there were six.* *Capricorn*, a nocturnal sign, is, in this example, connected with the Crescent-moon; just as the Northern *Goat*, *Capella*, is with the New-moon.

In Babylonia "the goat was sacred, and was exalted into the sign Capricornus."† "A robe of goats' skins" was "the sacred dress of the Babylonian priests";‡ and "the skin . . . filled with air served as a swimming buoy or bladder" for fishermen and others,§ another illustration of the *Goat-fish*. As stellar Goats are only reduplications of solar Goats,|| we shall better comprehend the importance of *Caper* and *Capella* in the Babylonian scheme by referring to the remarkably widely-diffused myth of the aerial Goat, or the Goat as connected with the Sun-god and the Storm-god.¶ Amongst other instances we find:—

The Akkadian solar Goat-god Uz (vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 145).

The Vedic solar Goat-god Pushan, "*the most skilful of charioteers*" (*Rig-veda*, VI, lvi, 3), "drawn by surefooted goats" (*Ibid.* VI, lv, 4, 6).

The Norse Thor, a semi-solar Storm-god, called Akethorr ("Thor-the-Charioteer"), whose car is drawn by the storm-goats Tanngrjost ("Teeth-gnasher") and Tanngrisner ("Fire-flashing-teeth").

The Semitic and Hellenic solar Goat-god Dionysos,** called Melanaigis (Pausanias, II, xxxv, 1), "Clad-in-a-black-goat-skin," i.e., "Wrapped-in-dark-storms."

* Cf. *Rig-veda*, I, clxiv, 11: "The 12-spoked wheel revolves round the heavens: 720 children in pairs [= 360 days + 360 nights] abide in it." Verse 48:—"The fellies are 12; the wheel is one; within it are collected 360 (spokes)."

† Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 284.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 285.

§ Vide *Transactions*, V, 46.

|| Vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 145.

¶ Vide *Ibid.* p. 144.

** When in 1877-8 I published *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, Vols. I and 2, the idea that Dionysos could be non-Hellenic in origin, was novel to the scientific world. What was then thought by many to be a bold and doubtful theory, has now, in the case of those writers who have kept up with mythological investigation, almost passed into a commonplace (vide Sayce, *Heraklitos*, p. 157). Writing in 1876, I said that Semelê was in all probability a non-Aryan name; but its origin was then unknown. "In 1884 a Phœnician inscription was found in a bay to the

The "terrible tasselled αἰγίς" (*Ilias*, V. 738) of Zeus the heaven and-storm-god, and Athênê, queen of the air. (That αἰγίς does mean "goat-harness," vide Hêrodotos, IV, 189.)

"We must," says Gubernatis, "consider the goat under a triple aspect; the principal aspect being that of *the sun veiled by the gloom, or by the cloud*, which wears often a demoniacal form * . . . the Vedic ágas means pushing, moving (*agens*), and afterwards he-goat; the he-goat butts with its horns; the sun in the cloud butts with its rays until its horns come out."† We have seen (*sup.*, p. 283) that *Capér* was a stormy sign, and, similarly, *Capella* was a most stormy star.

"If you would see the *Charioteer* and stars
Belonging to him, if of *Goat* and *Kids*‡
Report has reached you—they who oft behold
Men tossed about on the dark stormy sea—
All his huge form towards the left of the *Twins*
Inclining, you will find.§ On his *left shoulder*
The sacred *Goat* which men say offered Zeus its dug;
Zeus' servants call it *the Olenian Goat*.
She is both large and bright; but they—the *Kids*—
Shine somewhat feebly on the wrist of the hand."||

"Yet speed not quickly with the *Charioteer*
Kids or *Olenian Goat*; on his vast hand
They shine, distinguished from his other limbs
For raising storms, when moving with the sun."¶

west of the Peiræos containing the name Pen-'Samlath," "the face of 'Samlath" (Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, p. 54, n. 2). But the matter can now be taken still further back. What are Phœnician mythology and belief but an outcome and phase of Euphratean mythology and belief? And we find the origin of Semelê—'Samlath, mother of Dionysos, in the Sumero-Akkadian Samelâ, 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪 (W.A.I., III, lxvi, col. 5, l. 1), *Ilu Sa-me-la-a*, "the goddess Samelâ."

* Cf. the long mediaeval connexion of the Goat with the Witches' Sabbath; and the goat-demons who were supposed to haunt desolate places (cf. Isaiah, xiii, 21; xxxiv, 14).

† *Zoological Mythology*, I, 402.

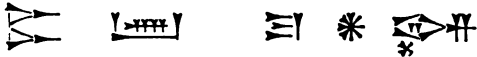
‡ 'Οι Ἐπίφοι, η and ζ *Aurigæ*; when a certain large star has been called the *Goat*, it is natural that two smaller (dimmer) stars near it should be styled the *Kids*.

§ Note that the *Charioteer*, like the Ἡνίοχος of Ptolemy, and the *Auriga* of a modern globe, has no chariot.

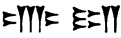
|| Aratos, *Phainomena*, 156-66.

¶ *Ibid.* 679-82. So the Latin poets, "Insana Caprae sidera" (Horace, *Carmina*, III, vii, 6); "Pluvialibus Hoedis Verberat imber humum" (Vergil, *Aeneid*, 668-9); "Olenie signum pluviale Capellæ" (Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 113).

As *Dilgan* (= *Capella*) is not mentioned in this Tablet, I have only considered it in reference to *Caper*, but I may add a striking illustration of the connexion between the star $\Delta\dot{\iota}\xi$ (*a Aurigae*), the Goat (*Capra Sinaitica*), and the Euphratean Sun-and-storm-god. On a cylinder * stand three human figures. The one to the right, clad in a long garment, advances his naked right leg, and rests it on a sort of footstool; his arms are bare and he holds a knife in his right hand. Before him stands a male figure, clad in a long garment, and holding a goat on his left arm, and behind the second figure is a third, apparently a priest, clad in a peculiar flounced robe reaching to the ankles, and holding up his hands as if in supplication. Between the second and third figures is portrayed a quadruple bolt, "the flaming sword"† of the Air-god. The subject is often repeated with more or less variation. To the right are three lines of cuneiform, the first probably giving the name of the cylinder-owner. The second and third are as follows:—

1. 
 (= As. 
 Ak. Dumu Uras ba, D.P. Meri (= As. Ramânu).
Son of-the-Veiled-one, the-Creator, the-exalted

3. 
 Ak. Nit D.P. Meri (= Mermer, "the Very-glorious").
Servant of-the-Storm-god.

The god  — , *U-ra-as* (*W.A.I.* II, lvii, 31), whose name is ideographically written , and who has been called Adar, is identified with Meri-Mermer in *W.A.I.* II, lvii, 51, 76; and "Uras is expressly stated to be the name of NIN-IP, as "god of light."‡ In *W.A.I.* II, lvii, 17, Baru, understood as "the god of the oracle," is the equivalent of Uras; and from Uras is derived the Assyrian *urasu*, "a mourning veil" (*W.A.I.* V, xxviii, 60).

* Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, No. 58.

† Vide Rawlinson, *Anct. Monarchies*, i, 130.

‡ Sayce, *Rel. Ancient Babs.*, 151, note.

whilst Uras himself is "the sun who issues forth from the shades of night" (Sayce). He is, therefore, the Sun, veiled, shrouded, cloud-covered—in fact, Melanaigis,—hence, like Apollôn, of dark speech, oracular, the warrior Storm-sun, exalted and very-glorious and so identified with the Semitic Ramânu.* And it is to this solar air-and-storm divinity that the Goat, *carried on the left arm*, is offered, "the Olenian Goat," as Aratos is careful to call it, "c'est-à-dire portée sur les bras, ὠλένη, *ulna*."†



Fig. 5.—THE OLENIAN GOAT (*Sculpture from Nimroud*).

𐎶𐎵, Akkadian *im*, is primarily "wind," "tempest," and *mir*, "bright," "rain," and the Air-god. Prof. Sayce also gives me the value *Raphan*, with which I would compare the god-name 'Ραιφάρ (LXX, in Amos, v, 26). Without entering into further details in the present Article, I venture to affirm that *Auriga* is clearly Euphratean in origin, and that the arm-borne Goat reappears as *Capella*. In Egypt "the ibex, or wild goat of the desert, occurs sometimes in astronomical subjects."‡ Another Cylinder§ shows *Capella*, offered as usual on the left arm to the Storm-god, whilst *Caper* appears in the air immediately over her head, thus illustrating the connexion between the two *Goats*. And from the foregoing

* Vide *Proceedings*, March, 1891, p. 268, note 3.

† Delambre, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, p. 64.

‡ Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iii, 303.

§ Callimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, No. 29.

considerations we may deduce the following canon:—*Whenever Greek art or mythology shows us something apparently meaningless (e.g., a man styled a "charioteer," but often without a chariot, and carrying a goat on his arm), and incapable of explanation from internal sources, such representations are not to be treated as the senseless fancies of an (imaginary) irrational savage, but are to be patiently investigated in the remains of earlier civilizations.* The obscure problem of Euphratæan astronomy is gradually yielding to systematic effort. Thanks to Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet we know that *Dilgan-Iku* is *Capella*, and that *Sibzianna* is *Arcturus*. *Munaxa*, the *Goat-fish*, and *Girtab*, the *Scorpion*, are beyond question; and if we may add that *Kakšisa*=*Sirius*, and *Idxa*=*Altair*, we shall have made a substantial advance in stellar identification.



NOTES AU JOUR LE JOUR.—V.

PAR G. MASPERO.

(Suite.)*

§ 21.—Une brochure récente de M. Marucchi a de nouveau attiré mon attention sur un passage d'une des inscriptions de l'obélisque de Latran à Rome, où le roi Thoutmosis IV raconte comment il a été amené à faire dresser ce monument.† On le lit d'ordinaire

comme il suit :



Les traductions ont toutes été faites d'après ce texte. On trouve ainsi dans Birch : "His Majesty ordered that a very great obelisk should be completed which had been brought by his father RA-MEN-KHEPER (THOTMES III) after His Majesty died. This obelisk remained 35 years and upwards in its place in the hands of the workmen at the Southern Quarters of Thebes. My father ordered it should be set up. I his son seconded him."‡ M. Marucchi traduit de même : "Ecco sua Santità fece abbellire un obelisco grandissimo che offrì al padre il re TOTMES III° dopo la morte di sua Santità. Questo obelisco restò 35 anni continui nel luogo suo sulle braccia dei lavoranti nel quartiere meridionale di Tebe."§

Sans être absolument impossible, le tour de phrase que ces traductions supposent est d'une grammaire si étrange, qu'il ne peut qu'inspirer des soupçons. Au lieu d'accepter le texte couramment admis, je me reportai aux fac-simile plus ou moins exacts

* Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 204.

† O. Marucchi, *Alcune Osservazioni sugli Obelischi di Roma*, p. 10, sqq.

‡ Birch, *Obelisk of the Lateran*, dans les *Records of the Past*, 1^{ère} éd., T. IV, p. 15.

§ O. Marucchi, *op. l.*, pp. 10, 11.

que nous possédons du monument, et je m'aperçus aussitôt que ~~la~~ vulgate renferme une faute de copie. L'obélisque de Latran ~~était~~ brisé en plusieurs morceaux, quand le pape Sixte V ordonna qu'~~on~~ le relevât, et l'architecte Fontana, qui fut chargé de l'opération, dut rogner les fragments pour les mettre en état de se raccorder. "Præter palmos quatuor, quos a pede obelisci recisos narrat ~~Me-~~ catus, et fidem faciunt effigies quæ ibi cernuntur dimidiatæ, ~~non~~ pauca desiderantur in superficie circa imam partem, præsertim ~~in~~ angulis, quos veteris stylobatæ fragminibus refecit Fontana, et ~~fr-~~trato labore oneravit characteribus pseud-ægyptiis. *Idem evenit circa commissuras frustorum trium, in quæ disruptus fuerat obeliscus, quorumque extremæ oræ comminutæ fuerunt.*"* Les divisions de ~~ces~~ fragments ne sont pas données dans la planche de Kircher,† ~~mais~~ elles sont figurées sur celle d'Ungarelli.‡ La principale des cassures tombe, dans la colonne d'inscription qui nous occupe, entre les mots  et . On voit de plus, au-dessus du mot , les restes d'un signe que MM. Birch et Marucchi ont interprété comme étant les deux jambes d'homme en marche , déterminatif de . Mais si l'on examine le texte d'Ungarelli, texte qui est établi d'après les copies de Champollion, on verra que ces débris, loin de représenter les jambes humaines , sont très nettement deux pattes d'oiseau légèrement fléchies au milieu, et rattachées à un corps d'oiseau en partie perdu aujourd'hui dans une lacune. La forme des pattes et de ce qui subsiste du corps, la présence de  derrière le signe, ne permettent pas de douter que nous ayons là le groupe bien connu  QIMIT, QIMOUT : un point seulement reste incertain, qu'on pourrait probablement éclaircir en étudiant l'original, s'il y a place pour  ou non derrière  et s'il faut rétablir  ou bien . A cela près, qui n'a aucune importance, nous avons sous les yeux une phrase construite sur un modèle des plus connus :      

* Zoega, *de Origine et Usu Obeliscorum*, p. 67.

† A. Kircher, *Œdipus Ægyptiacus*, T. III, planche vis-à-vis la page 161.

‡ Ungarelli, *Interpretatio Obeliscorum Urbis*, Tabule, T. I.



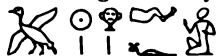
unique et très grand qu'avait amené le père roi MENKHOPIRR, après que Sa Majesté eut trouvé que cet obélisque était resté trente-cinq ans couché sur le côté aux mains des artisans, au côté Sud d'Apitou: selon l'ordre de mon père, je le lui dressai, car je suis son fils qui le défend!"

§ 22.—Le sens des noms   AMON-HI-KHOPSHOUF,   PHRÂHIKHOPSHOUF,   MONTOU-HIKHOPSHOUF, et autres de même formation, est déterminé très clairement par plusieurs des scènes où l'on voit un roi recevant, des mains du dieu, le sabre recourbé qui portait en Egypte le nom de   KHOPSHOU. Prenons, par exemple, les tableaux publiés par Dümichen.* Dans le premier, Amonrâ, maître de Karnak, tend la harpé à Ramsès III, mais une harpé surmontée, comme on le voit ci-contre, d'une tête de bœuf couronnée du disque et de l'uræus. Cette tête est l'emblème qu'on voit à l'avant et à l'arrière de la barque sacrée d'Amon, l'image du dieu lui-même, Amon criocéphale: ce que la divinité donne au roi c'est donc *Amon sur sa harpé*   AMONHIKHOPSHOUF, c'est-à-dire la représentation matérielle du nom qu'il s'agit d'expliquer. La position relative des parties ne laisse subsister aucun doute: la tête de bœuf d'Amon, et par suite Amon lui-même, est bien *sur*  le sabre recourbé   KHOPSHOU du dieu: comme le sabre du dieu passe au roi, et devient le sabre de celui-ci, le pronom  change également de maître, et, après avoir désigné le premier propriétaire de

* Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, T. I, pl. XI-XII.

l'arme, le dieu, est transféré au propriétaire du nom, au personnage qui le porte. AMONHIKHOUSHOUF, après avoir signifié *Amon est sur son propre sabre*, peut donc signifier *Amon est sur le sabre de celui qui on donne le nom*.

Je ne me souviens pas avoir rencontré Râ ou Montou livrant leur sabre dans les mêmes conditions. Voici pourtant un exemple qui montre que les noms de ce type où ils sont désignés, doivent s'expliquer de même. Amonrâ-Harmakhis donne lui aussi sa harpè à Ramès III, et, en sa qualité d'Horus, il est représenté avec la tête d'épervier traditionnelle. Or, la harpè qu'il remet au Pharaon est surmontée de la tête d'épervier, coiffée du disque solaire. * Râ, accomplissant la même cérémonie, ne pourrait être représenté autrement, et la vignette ci-jointe est comme l'illustration du nom



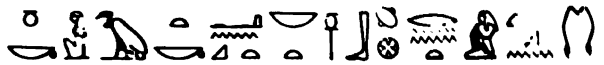
PHRÂHIKHOUSHOUF, assez rare d'ailleurs. La tête de Râ, et par suite Râ lui-même, est bien ici encore sur la harpè que le dieu tend au roi.

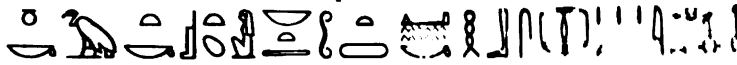
On voit que ces images écartent toutes les interprétations mystiques qu'on aurait pu tirer de nos noms avec un peu de bonne volonté. C'est presque toujours le cas, lorsqu'au lieu de chercher en soi-même, on cherche sur les monuments figurés l'explication des choses de l'Égypte.

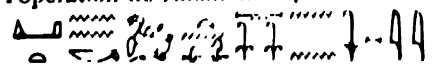
§ 23.—On connaît le tableau qui représente une déesse allaitant un roi. La déesse a le plus souvent la forme humaine, quelquefois une forme animale, celle de la vache Hathor. Elle est souvent debout, parfois assise, parfois accroupie, et le roi est debout, ou assis sur ses genoux pour lui prendre le sein. On interprète d'ordinaire la scène par une identification du personnage royal avec Horus ; ce n'est pas, dit-on, le roi homme-fait, c'est le roi enfant que la déesse nourrit de son lait, comme elle avait fait son propre fils pendant les premières années de sa vie. Le tableau n'est qu'une figure de style qui a pris corps, une métaphore qui s'est animée, et qui n'a d'autre réalité que celle qu'il a plu au sculpteur et au peintre de lui attribuer.

* Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, T. I, pl. XVI-XVII ; cfr. Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, pl. 210.

Il faut insister sur l'abordé que, sur un point au moins, l'interprétation est certainement fautive. On dit que c'est toujours le roi enfant qui met dans sa bouche le sein de la déesse, mais en réalité c'est très souvent le roi homme-fait. Nous savons la façon dont les Égyptiens représentaient un roi enfant : Ramsès II sur un fragment de Louvre, Amenhotep III à Louxor, nous l'ont appris. Nux ou bébès, ils ont une coiffure spéciale, la grosse tresse de cheveux braidés sur l'oreille, et la tête nue ou ceinte d'un bandeau léger. Au contraire beaucoup des souverains qui tétent la déesse sont vêtus et munis avec la masse à la main et les insignes de la royauté, souvent avec le casque de guerre en tête, ou l'une des couronnes : de tresse, il peut s'en être point question pour eux avec les coiffures, et la marque distinctive de l'enfance leur manquant, ils ne sont plus des enfants. Les discours de la déesse à son royal nourrisson ne sont qu'une simple constatation de fait. Elle dit :

 "Je suis ta mère Anoukit, dame d'Abou, qui te nourris dans mes bras ;" ou bien

 "Je suis ta mère Isis, dame de Nubie, et je t'ai donné les panégories d'avènement avec mon bon lait, afin qu'elles entrent en tes membres, en vie et force."* Quelques fois

pourtant, elle ne décrit pas l'opération de l'allaitement, mais en constate seulement le résultat : 

 "Je t'accorde, dit Miritskro, dame de l'Ouest, le divan de Tanen, les royautés de Hor dans Pou."†

Le nourrisson étant un homme fait, ou, comme c'est le cas pour Hâtshopsitou, une femme, l'ancienne explication tombe et il faut en chercher une nouvelle. On oublie trop, quand on cherche à comprendre l'histoire et les gestes des dieux, que leurs noms sont après tout identiques à celles des gens qui les adorent : si les dieux, comme disait Voltaire, ont fait l'homme à leur image, l'homme le leur a bien rendu et leur a prêté ses lois et ses habitudes. Nous pouvons donc nous demander, dans le cas présent, si l'usage

* Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, pl. 177 f. g.

† Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, pl. 218 c.

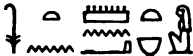
qu'avaient les déesses de donner le sein à un roi parvenu depuis longtemps à l'âge mûr, ne répondrait pas à quelque coutume ou à quelque cérémonie de la vie ordinaire, où une femme devait accomplir le simulacre de nourrir un homme depuis longtemps sorti de nourrice. L'Égypte ne me fournit rien pour le moment; mais, si nous cherchons chez les peuples étrangers anciens ou modernes nous y trouverons l'explication très plausible du cas des déesses. On sait l'importance que prennent les nourrices dans la famille orientale: le seul exemple que j'en veuille citer pour le moment nous transporte dans la Mingrélie contemporaine. Là, dès le jour qu'un enfant a été confié à une nourrice, "elle, son mari, les frères et sœurs de lait du nourrisson, ses petits et arrière-petits enfants même, deviennent des êtres cent fois plus chers que les père et mère et les membres de la famille naturelle. En revanche toute fois, sa fidélité est à jamais à toute épreuve, et si, par principe, une Mingrélienne donne sa vie pour son nourrisson, celui-ci, devenu grand, n'oubliera pas la dette sacrée qu'il a envers sa nourrice et les siens et l'acquittera toujours.

"Cette exigeante alliance, cette parenté autrement respectée que celle que créent les liens du sang, se contracte aussi souvent entre grandes personnes et est fort recherchée. Après en avoir d'abord envoyé solliciter humblement la faveur par son *matsikouki*, c'est-à-dire un ami commun ou une connaissance influente, qui en est l'intermédiaire nécessaire, une paysanne arrive un jour suivie de son mari, de ses enfants, de ses parents, les mains pleines de cadeaux et traînant un bouc. Elle vient demander à quelque princesse l'honneur de l'avoir pour nourrisson. Celle-ci, qui a d'avance accepté, met alors légèrement le sein de la paysanne, et la consécration est terminée. Désormais il y a alliance qui est scellée, après des félicitations et de nombreux remerciements mutuels, par un échange de libéralités réciproques.

"Bien plus, et quelque extraordinaire que cet usage puisse nous paraître, des jeunes filles même consentent à cette épreuve et, recherchant cette parenté fictive, acceptent volontiers des jeunes gens comme nourrissons. Je me hâte d'ajouter qu'en offrant leur sein, elles le couvrent chastement d'un voile. La jeune nourrice improvisée devient une sœur sacrée qui a droit à jamais à toute la protection et à tous les égards du jeune homme qu'elle a accepté ou qu'elle a choisi."*

* Mourier, *l'Etat religieux de la Mingrélie* dans la *Revue de l'Histoire Religieuse*, T. XVI, p. 90, note 2.

Il y a, dit-on, d'autres exemples de ce genre d'adoption, et chez quelques peuples, en Abyssinie par exemple, on l'a étendu à l'adoption par l'homme, en le modifiant pour la circonstance. "Lorsqu'un homme désire se faire adopter comme le fils d'une personne de rang supérieur, il lui prend la main et, *lui suçant un des doigts, se déclare son fils adoptif*; son nouveau père est alors forcé de l'assister dans la mesure de ses moyens."* Comme je n'ai pas ici à étudier l'ensemble des faits relatifs à cette matière, je me bornerai à relever les points qui concordent entre ceux que j'ai cités et les données des tableaux égyptiens. Il me semble que l'analogie est frappante. Comme la femme ou la fille mingrélienne, la déesse égyptienne donne son sein à un homme; la cérémonie accomplie, la déesse devient la mère de celui qu'elle a traitée si libéralement, comme aussi la femme mingrélienne. Or, en Mingrélie, ce cérémonial constitue la forme légale de l'adoption, et ceux entre qui existe le lien du lait ne font plus qu'une seule famille: ne pouvons-nous pas en conclure la même chose pour l'Egypte, et dire, 1° que le tableau d'allaitement d'un roi par une déesse est une cérémonie d'adoption de ce roi par cette déesse; 2° reportant sur terre ce que les Egyptiens en avaient enlevé pour le transporter dans le ciel, que l'adoption en Egypte exigeait un cérémonial, où la femme qui adoptait faisait le simulacre de nourrir au sein l'homme qu'elle prenait pour fils?

Il y aurait lieu peut-être de rechercher si les nombreuses grandes dames de l'époque thébaine qui portent le titre de  MÔNÂÏT SOUTEN, *nourrices royales, nourrices du roi*, ne seraient pas des nourrices par cérémonial, comme celles dont il est parlé plus haut. Les nobles et les courtisans égyptiens ne pouvaient pas fournir tous des nourrices réelles au Pharaon, mais, si vraiment il y avait un moyen légal d'assurer à leur femme, par suite à eux-mêmes et à leurs enfants, le bénéfice de la position privilégiée dont la nourrice réelle jouissait dans la famille pharaonique, nous comprendrions mieux la surabondance de nourrices royales que les tombeaux nous font connaître: la plupart d'entre elles seraient des nourrices par adoption, qui auraient fait le simulacre d'allaiter le roi selon la loi des déesses. Ajoutons que les maris de ces nobles nourrices sont parfois qualifiés eux-mêmes de nourrice  MÔNÂÏ, ce qui ne laisse pas que d'être singulier pour un homme. On aurait la solution de ce petit

* Parkyns, *Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, p. 198.

problème, si l'on consentait à admettre que ces *nourriciers* étaient unis à leur royal nourrisson par une cérémonie analogue à celle qui se célébrait il y a peu de temps, et sans doute se célèbre encore, en Abyssinie : le roi faisait semblant de leur mordre le sein ou le doigt, et cela suffisait pour établir entre eux le lien du lait.

Voilà, en résumé, l'opinion que m'a inspirée jusqu'à présent l'étude des tableaux d'allaitement et des faits qu'on en peut rapprocher.

§ 24.—Les musées égyptiens renferment tous en assez grande quantité de petites plaques en pierre de différente nature, calcaire, grès, schiste, basalte, taillées en biseau sur tout le pourtour à l'un de leur face, munies à l'autre face d'une cavité carrée ou ovale formant godet, et dont les contours sont d'une régularité parfaite. On y reconnaît ordinairement de petits mortiers sur lesquels les scribes broyaient leurs couleurs et leurs encres. Il est probable, en effet, que plusieurs d'entre elles ont servi à cet usage : les molettes en pierre qui les complétaient ont tantôt la forme d'un petit pilon, tantôt celle d'un pion de dames égyptiennes, parfois celle d'une hache mignonne, tranchante à l'une des extrémités, arrondie à l'autre. L'emploi de ces monuments n'était pas restreint aux scribes, et si l'antiquité égyptienne ne nous a pas renseigné suffisamment sur eux jusqu'à présent, l'antiquité classique nous permet d'en apprécier l'utilité générale.

M. l'abbé Thédénat a montré, en effet, qu'à l'époque grec-romaine, ils servaient de mortiers aux médecins oculistes. On y broyait "certaines substances destinées soit à entrer dans la composition des collyres, soit à soulager directement les malades. On en faisait aussi usage pour l'application des collyres. Les collyres secs étaient de petits bâtonnets minces, composés d'une pâte que l'on marquait d'une empreinte à l'aide du cachet, avant de la laisser durcir. Pour les appliquer, l'oculiste les broyait dans les *coticules*, puis y versait, selon la nature du collyre et de la maladie, un liquide adoucissant ou astringent qui servait de véhicule au collyre sec pulvérisé....* Plusieurs fois, on a trouvé dans les fouilles des *coticules* avec des cachets d'oculistes."† Ce qui n'empêche pas d'ailleurs que les Grecs et les Romains ne les aient employées à des usages divers. "On les a classées parmi les molettes sur lesquelles

* H. Thédénat, *Petit mortier en marbre de l'époque romaine* (Extrait du *Bulletin Monumental*, 1890), p. 10 du tirage à part.

† H. Thédénat, *op. l.*, p. 5.

peintres broyaient leurs couleurs ; les objets avec lesquels plusieurs d'entre elles ont été trouvées dans les sépultures permettent de supposer que les femmes en possédaient parmi leurs objets de toilette, et les employaient à écraser le fard ou le noir pour les yeux." Je crois qu'une comparaison du mortier publié par l'abbé Thédénat et des mortiers analogues connus pour l'époque classique avec nos mortiers égyptiens, suffira à montrer l'identité des deux classes de monuments et par suite l'identité de leurs emplois. En Egypte, comme à Rome, ils servaient à triturer non-seulement les couleurs du scribe, mais le fard des femmes et les drogues de l'oculiste.

L'identité de forme et d'emploi trahit-elle une communauté d'origine ? Je le crois volontiers, et je pense que les oculistes grecs et romains ont emprunté leurs petits mortiers aux oculistes égyptiens. La médecine des yeux était une des branches les plus importantes de la pratique égyptienne : il suffit de voir la place que les maladies des yeux occupent dans les papyrus médicaux* pour s'en convaincre. Les Egyptiens d'autrefois avaient imaginé et essayé nombre de remèdes, que leurs médecins communiquèrent aux étrangers. Les Grecs ne furent pas des derniers à les leur emprunter : une bonne partie des formules usitées à l'époque gréco-romaine sont identiques aux formules de nos papyrus, et paraissent avoir été prises de toutes pièces à l'Egypte.† Il est naturel que l'outillage matériel nécessaire à les préparer ait émigré avec elles, et que les formes traditionnelles du mortier et du pilon d'oculiste égyptien se soient perpétuées chez les oculistes européens.

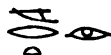
Je n'ai pas encore retrouvé dans les textes le nom hiéroglyphique du petit mortier et de son pilon.

§ 25.—Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de définir exactement le sens des mots  et  qui désignent l'œil en égyptien. Tout le monde est d'accord sur le sens du premier : c'est le mot qui sert à indiquer l'organe de la vision chez l'homme et les animaux, l'œil du langage courant. La lecture IRIT, qui avait jadis le dessus,

* Ebers, das Kapitel über die *Augenkrankheiten* (Extrait des *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der Kön. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, T. XI), p. 201, sqq.

† Voir les exemples réunis dans Hirschberg, *Aegypten, geschichtliche Studien eines Augenarztes*, p. 61, sqq.

en a été remplacée chez plusieurs égyptologues, par la lecture



MIRIT, au duel MIRITI, MIRAITI. Je crois pour ma part

que ces deux prononciations ont un fonds commun et cachent une même racine. J'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier, en 1877 et 1878, dans

mes cours au Collège de France, la préformante M, MA, de

l'Egyptien, et de montrer qu'un certain nombre de mots qu'on croyait simples sont en réalité des composés de cet M et d'un

autre mot. Entre autres exemples, j'avais cité dès lors le titre MIROU, dont l'orthographe , nous ramenait au titre

RO, déjà connu alors par les composés RO-HIR, signalé

mais mal interprété par Chabas, RO-PÂIT, etc. : I

MIROU est un développement en M initial du mot RO dont

une autre forme paraît avoir été ARI.* Je rattachais de

même MIRITI à IRIT, par la préfixion de M à ce

mot. L'objection, qu'on me fit alors, que les préformatives et en général les particules grammaticales ne s'unissent pas aux lettres du

mot qu'elles affectent pour former un syllabique, est tombée depuis devant les exemples du fait que les textes des Pyramides renferment.

Je suis plus convaincu que jamais que MIRITI est la

forme en M initiale du mot IRIT.

OUZAÏT est appliqué d'ordinaire aux deux yeux

du ciel, le Soleil et la Lune, et lorsqu'il s'agit de cette dernière, c'est la pleine Lune qu'on qualifie OUZAÏT. Je passe sur les interpréta-

tions diverses qu'on a données du terme : l'analyse de l'expression suffit pour nous en fournir une explication plus simple et, par suite,

plus satisfaisante. La partie phonétique OUZAÏT est

* C'est ce titre que M. Piehl expliquait vers le même temps (*Recueil de Travaux*, T. I, p. 133, note 1) "comme composé de la préposition et du substantif : celui qui est dans la bouche des individus qui lui sont subordonnés." Plus tard M. Piehl a reconnu la véritable étymologie et ramené le initial de à son origine (*Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 128).

un féminin régulier de l'adjectif    OUZA, le copte , T.M., *sanus esse, bene valere*, , T.M., , B., *Sanari*, comme on le sait depuis longtemps. Elle signifie donc la *saine*, la *bien portante*, et, avec référence tacite à l'objet dont on constate la santé, ici *l'œil*, qui est en effet du féminin en Egyptien,  IRIT  MIRIT : OUZAÏT était primitivement une épithète adressée à l'œil, et qui est devenue un nom, tout en conservant le genre du mot sur lequel elle s'appuyait. Le déterminatif  représente *l'œil sain, l'œil bien portant*, par opposition à l'œil ordinaire , et les traits qui le distinguent de ce dernier signe sont là sans doute pour représenter les marques de la santé de l'œil. Or, si l'on compare le dessin du signe à certaines représentations de l'Ancien Empire, on verra que le tracé en est identique à l'apparence que présente l'œil des personnages cerné d'une bande de fard. Sur les statues de Sepa au Louvre,* sur le portrait de la dame Hathornofirhotpou à Boulaq,† on voit le sourcil accentué, le pourtour des yeux avivé de kohol, la partie inférieure de l'œil, enduite d'un fard vert qui s'arrête à la ligne naturelle que l'arête de l'os décrit sur la joue ; le petit appendice qui pend du larmier dessine la traînée de poudre que l'humidité de l'œil trace le long du nez des Egyptiens modernes qui emploient le kohol, et qui descend souvent jusqu'à l'aile du nez. Le signe  est donc l'œil humain fardé à la mode égyptienne, et le nom    OUZAÏT, qui est propre à l'œil ainsi fardé, nous montre que ce maquillage de l'œil était considéré comme étant pour lui une garantie de santé. Et de fait, les Egyptiens ont prétendu de tout temps que l'usage du kohol n'était pas seulement pour eux affaire de coquetterie, mais de santé des yeux. Lane l'a constaté,‡ et tous les Egyptiens que j'ai interrogés à ce sujet en sont convenus. Il en était de même dans l'antiquité, et une bonne partie des remèdes que les papyrus nous

* E. de Rougé, *Notice sommaire des Monuments Egyptiens*, 1855, p. 50, A 36, 37, 38.

† Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, pp. 212, 213, Nos. 991 et 1000.

‡ Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th Ed., T. I, pp. 45-46 ; cf. pour l'époque classique les passages que M. l'abbé Thédénat a réunis dans sa curieuse brochure intitulée, *Note sur un étui à collyre égyptien conservé au Musée du Louvre* (extrait des *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, T. XLI), p. 10, sqq. du tirage à part.

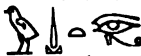
font connaître sont des kohols à base d'antimoine, qui teignent le pourtour des yeux en noir, ou des collyres à base de sels de cuivre, qui teignent le pourtour des yeux en vert. L'association d'idées entre l'œil fardé et l'œil bien portant était donc naturelle en Egypte, et l'on conçoit que les Egyptiens aient expliqué l'épithète OUZAÏT



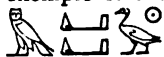
le bien portant à  *l'œil fardé*.

Et maintenant quel motif avaient-ils d'appeler le Soliel et la Lune , *les deux yeux bien portants*? Le Soleil et la Lune sont, comme chacun sait, les deux yeux de *la face divine*

 ou du ciel. Or cette face est soumise à des maladies, comme la face humaine, et naturellement aux maladies de la face humaine qui sont le plus fréquentes en Egypte, aux maladies des yeux. De ces deux yeux, l'un le Soliel était en bon état à l'ordinaire, et ne souffrait que d'éclipses passagères; la lune au contraire était atteinte d'une maladie périodique, dont les accès l'éteignaient progressivement, mais n'empêchaient pas qu'elle recouvrât la plénitude de sa santé chaque fois. La lune n'était donc *saine et fardée* qu'au moment de son plein; cela ne l'empêchait pas d'être appelée



OUZAÏT comme son associé solaire, et ses vicissitudes de santé et de maladie, attribuées aux attaques d'autres dieux, ont contribué largement à nous faire connaître son  OUZAÏT mieux que nous ne connaissons l'OUZAÏT du Soleil.*

§ 26.—J'ai cherché à me rendre compte du nombre d'hommes que les Egyptiens employaient à décorer un édifice ou une partie d'édifice, ainsi que du temps qu'il leur fallait pour compléter la décoration. L'examen du temple d'Abydos m'a fourni, je crois, un moyen fort simple et assez sûr de faire ce calcul. J'avais été frappé des différences que présente un même signe, dans des parties appartenant au même mur d'une même salle et qui ont été sculptées en même temps. En y regardant d'un peu près, je reconnus que ces différences, loin d'être disséminées au hasard, sont réparties régulièrement. Pour mieux me faire comprendre, je prendrai un exemple fort court, soit un bout de formule de la table d'Abydos, , et j'analyserai, non tous les signes dont il se compose,

* Cette explication a été déjà indiquée dans le *Recueil*, T. XII, p. 86, note 3. Je ne me souviens pas l'avoir vue antérieurement.

mais deux d'entre eux qui prêtent par leur forme à de légères variations, la chouette initiale  et l'oie .

En examinant la chouette, je remarque tout d'abord que les principales différences de rendu portent sur l'aile, dans la partie du couloir qui contient la Table. Dans un premier endroit, la chouette est toujours tracée comme il suit :



Les plumes de l'aile sont marquées par un semis de petites lignes tracées horizontalement dans le champ de la sculpture et assez lourdes. Dans sept colonnes de suite toutes les chouettes sont sculptées de la sorte, puis viennent deux colonnes où le rendu de l'aile est différent :

Les rangs de plumes sont marqués par des lignes continues qui s'étagent horizontalement du haut en bas de l'aile. Dans les deux colonnes suivantes, la disposition des lignes simulant les plumes est la même que dans le premier cas, seulement les lignes sont plus légères.



Si je passe à l'examen de l'oie, je remarque d'abord une simple silhouette, dans laquelle les contours de l'aile et des pattes sont indiqués à peu-près comme dans le caractère usual  de notre



Dans les deux colonnes suivantes, les plumes de l'aile sont marquées par des raies longitudinales à la partie supérieure, transversales à la partie inférieure, avec chevauchement des lignes longitudinales sur les lignes transversales au point de contact

des deux systèmes. Dans les deux lignes suivantes le travail de silhouette presque sans détail reparaît un peu plus lourd, pour être

remplacé dans sept autres colonnes par un appareil de lignes analogues à celui que j'ai signalé plus haut, mais avec des différences dans la disposition des parties. J'ajouterai que les scarabées reproduits dans les cartouches sont taillés eux aussi avec des



variantes curieuses. Les trois scarabées qui se trouvent sous les sept dernières colonnes ont la tête ainsi faite, avec les parties arrondies et le corselet réuni aux élytres par une pointe.



Sous les deux lignes précédentes, la bouche, les yeux, et leurs appendices sont taillés carré par en haut et s'enfoncent en pointe dans le corselet ; le corselet, au contraire, est arrondi à la partie qui se rattache aux élytres. On

un autre, et tous attaquaient la muraille à la fois, chacun dans la partie qui lui avait été attribuée, en commençant d'ordinaire par le haut des colonnes. Quand ils avaient fini—ce qui devait varier selon la rapidité d'exécution qu'ils avaient—they recevaient la commande d'un certain nombre d'autres lignes, et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à ce que la paroi entière fût décorée.

Reste la question de temps. Les Egyptiens travaillaient fort vite, et la rapidité avec laquelle l'obélisque de la reine Hatshopsitou fut taillé, transporté, sculpté, dressé est merveilleuse. Si, en divisant les surfaces à orner le plus possible, et, par suite, en multipliant le nombre des ouvriers qui pouvaient les travailler à la fois, on arrivait à avoir vite raison du granit rose le plus dur, la tâche devait paraître singulièrement plus facile quand il s'agissait d'une pierre tendre comme le calcaire. Il y a, à Louxor, un certain nombre de faussaires très habiles, la plupart coptes, qui fabriquent des stèles et des statues pour les touristes. Ces braves gens travaillent avec des outils et ont des procédés fort analogues à ceux des anciens dont ils copient les œuvres. Après avoir dessiné sur une pièce de calcaire des hiéroglyphes aussi détaillés que ceux du temple de Sêti I^{er} à Abydos, je la remis à l'un d'eux : en un jour et demi, une demi-colonne de vingt grands signes était achevée, non certes en aussi beau style que les signes du modèle, mais avec une minutie et une conscience dignes de tous les éloges. Je n'ai pas la prétention de déduire de cette expérience une évaluation de temps précise : il me paraît seulement en résulter que l'Egyptien ancien, plus habile et mieux dressé que l'Egyptien moderne, aurait mis moins de temps à exécuter la même quantité d'hiéroglyphes, un tiers en moins peut-être, soit deux heures où l'autre en exigeait trois. Dans cette condition, une colonne d'hiéroglyphes du genre de celles auxquelles j'ai emprunté mes exemples dans le temple d'Abydos pouvait exiger entre deux ou trois jours de travail à un ouvrier habile, ainsi que l'étaient les sculpteurs employés par Sêti I^{er}. Le couloir entier réparti entre huit ou dix ouvriers par parois n'aurait pas exigé plus d'un mois de travail. Je considère que les tableaux, offrant de grandes surfaces blanches, ne devaient pas exiger plus de temps que n'en auraient demandé le nombre de lignes d'inscription entre lesquelles l'espace occupé par eux aurait été réparti. Je donne ces calculs pour ce qu'ils valent : le point à en retenir c'est que la décoration des monuments égyptiens, de même que la construction, a dû exiger beaucoup moins de temps et moins d'hommes qu'on ne l'imagine

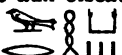
généralement. C'était un service d'état ou de ville, organisé régulièrement, avec ses corps d'ouvriers sans cesse entretenus et dressés dès l'enfance à leur genre de travail, dirigés par des contremaîtres et des chefs possédant à fonds la pratique traditionnelle de l'emploi : tout s'y faisait avec un ordre et avec des méthodes éprouvées de longue date, et qui, épargnant les tâtonnements et le gaspillage des forces, épargnaient le temps.

La même méthode, appliquée aux monuments de toute époque, tombeau de Ti, pyramide de Pepi I^{er}, inscription de la bataille de Mageddo, temple de Déir el-Médinéh, tombeaux d'el-Kab, m'avait donné des résultats concordants, perdus avec mes papiers. Presque partout, il m'a été possible de reconnaître des variantes régulières de rendu dans les hiéroglyphes, et, par suite, la main d'ouvriers différents. Les indices sont parfois si légers et si fugitifs, surtout quand c'est le cas des hiéroglyphes découpés en silhouette sans détail intérieur, que je n'ose me flatter de les avoir bien appréciés partout et toujours. Je me borne à indiquer la méthode, pour que d'autres puissent la vérifier et reconnaître jusqu'à quel point on peut l'appliquer à la généralité des monuments.

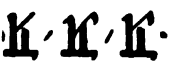
§ 27.—On rencontre dans les musées beaucoup de petits amulettes, le plus souvent en cornaline, qui représentent la partie antérieure d'un serpent : une bélière, ménagée à l'extrémité opposée à la tête, servait à suspendre l'amulette au cou de la personne qui le portait ou à le coudre sur son maillot funèbre. Je ne me rappelle pas qu'on en ait fourni l'explication complète. Celle que j'en ai admise dans le catalogue du Musée de Boulaq * ne couvre qu'une partie des faits. Ils étaient en effet destinés à protéger les vivants et les morts contre la piqure des serpents et des scorpions, mais ce n'est là qu'une partie de leur emploi. Ce sont surtout des armes et des instruments mystiques qu'on donnait au mort, et qui lui servaient dans diverses occasions de sa vie d'outre-tombe. Les Egyptiens employaient en effet à la chasse, outre le boumérang ordinaire, un bâton de jet qui a exactement la forme d'un demi-serpent, c'est-à-dire celle de notre amulette.† La présence de cet

* Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, p. 279, No. 4195.

† En voir des exemples dans Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 2nd Ed., T. II, p. 108, No. 366 ; Nestor L'hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Egypte*, p. 48 et note 1. "On voit dans quelques collections d'antiquités égyptiennes des têtes de serpent en bronze, autrefois emmanchées à des bâtons destinés à la chasse."

objet minuscule sur le mort lui assurait la possession réelle de l'arme qu'il représentait, et lui donnait le moyen de chasser à son gré aux oiseaux d'eau. La baguette magique des prêtres égyptiens, le  *oir hikaou*, qui d'ordinaire présente un demi-serpent à tête de bélier, surmontée ou non d'une uræus,* a quelquefois elle aussi la forme d'un serpent complet : c'est elle qu'employaient les magiciens de Pharaon dans leur lutte contre Moïse et les Hébreux.

La forme de serpent prêtée à une arme du genre du boumérang se comprend fort bien, quand on a vécu dans des pays où les serpents sont plus nombreux et plus vifs de mouvements qu'ils ne sont chez nous. Les Egyptiens, qui avaient une crainte fort vive des reptiles, comme le montrent les très-anciennes conjurations que les textes des Pyramides nous ont conservées, et qui avaient, plus souvent sans doute qu'ils ne l'eussent désiré, l'occasion d'observer leurs mœurs, avaient été fort frappés de la façon soudaine dont le céraste ou l'uræus enroulée se détend brusquement, se jette en fouettant l'air sur sa proie, et la frappe en s'enroulant autour d'elle pour en paralyser les mouvements. La détente du bras lançant le boumérang, la marche onduleuse de l'arme à travers les airs, la manière dont elle semble se replier sur le cou de l'oiseau qu'elle atteint, leur rappela si vivement l'attaque du serpent, qu'ils donnèrent à leurs bois de jet la forme du reptile, ou plutôt, comme le boumérang était d'ordinaire assez court, celle d'un céraste coupé par le milieu.

§ 28.—Les verbes qui expriment l'idée de porter, , , , etc., ont un déterminatif , auquel on donne depuis longtemps la valeur d'un pied de balance.† Cette valeur est bien prouvée par la forme même de l'objet, mais, si l'on étudie l'histoire du signe, on s'aperçoit bientôt qu'il apparaît, surtout dans les textes du Nouvel-Empire, comme transcription rectifiée d'un signe hiératique, qui servait de déterminatif aux différents mots que j'ai indiqués, et dont la forme la plus usuelle est dans les textes d'écriture soignée .

Cette forme hiératique elle-même ne répond pas à un même signe ; si l'on recherche, dans les textes des Pyramides, les déterminatifs des mots en question, on remarquera qu'ils diffèrent toujours entre

* Th. Déveria, *Le Fer et l'Aimant*, dans les *Mélanges*, T. I, pp. 5, 8, 9.

† E. de Rougé ; *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, T. I. p. 87, t. 10.

eux.  FA, *porter*, dont le déterminatif usuel est un homme portant le panier sur sa tête , ou qui s'écrit même semi-idéographiquement , a pour déterminatif dans PEPI I^{er} et MIRINRI  le chevet, et dans PEPI II,  le pieu fourchu sur lequel s'emboîte la hampe du gouvernail des barques égyptiennes, déterminatifs fort bien appropriés à la signification du verbe, puisque l'un des objets porte la tête du dormeur, l'autre le poids de la rame-maîtresse. Quant à  ROSOU, ou plutôt  OUTSOU, le déterminatif usuel à l'époque des Pyramides est une branche d'arbre qu'on a dépouillée des rameaux secondaires , et qu'on a plantée dans un petit monticule de terre ou de ciment pour la tenir en place . Les variantes montrent des formes diverses du bâton et du monceau, mais elles se ramènent toutes au type dont je viens de donner le dessin. Les lignes du *chevet* ou du *pieu* d'une part, celles du *rameau planté en terre* de l'autre, tracées en abrégé par une main hâtive, devaient donner des formes très voisines l'une de l'autre et qui se mêlèrent en un seul type hiératique, celui dont j'ai montré quelques spécimens au commencement de ce paragraphe. Mais l'usage du *chevet* ou du *pieu* après  FA, celui de la *branche dressée en terre* après  OUTSOU, ne semblent pas avoir survécu longtemps à l'Ancien-Empire, si bien qu'on confondit l'un avec l'autre les signes que les formes hiératiques recouvraient, et, qu'essayant de les interpréter ensuite, on les traduisit en hiéroglyphes par le *pied de la balance* , qui lui aussi s'appelait OUTSOU. C'est un exemple de plus à noter de ces erreurs involontaires ou voulues qui ont défiguré nombre de signes anciens, et ont tiré des valeurs et des formes de l'écriture cursive des valeurs et des formes nouvelles pour l'écriture monumentale.

§ 29.—Le récit qu'Hérodote nous fait de l'exode des guerriers au temps de Psammétique I^{er},* a rencontré, dans ces derniers temps, beaucoup d'incrédules. L'objection principale, exposée avec beaucoup de force par M. Wiedemann,† insiste beaucoup sur ce fait qu'il

* Hérodote II, xxx.

† Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 136, sqq. ; *Herodotus Zweites Buch*, pp. 131, sqq.

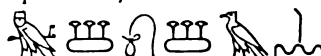
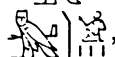
aurait été impossible aux garnisons de Daphnæ et de Marea de traverser l'Égypte entière, du nord au sud, sans être arrêtées dans leur marche. Si elles avaient été assez fortes pour exécuter cette sortie victorieuse, elles n'auraient pas eu besoin de s'exiler au fond de l'Éthiopie, mais seraient demeurées en Égypte, et y auraient constitué au profit de leurs chefs un ou plusieurs états indépendants. J'avoue que les arguments invoqués contre l'autorité d'Hérodote en cet endroit ne m'ont pas convaincu, et que je suis porté, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, à défendre l'authenticité de la tradition qu'il nous a transmise à ce sujet.

En premier lieu, nous ne connaissons pas assez le détail des révolutions qui élevèrent au trône la XXVI^e dynastie, pour être autorisés à affirmer, qu'au moment mal défini où se produisit l'évènement, Psammétique I^{er} eût sous la main le nombre de soldats suffisant pour empêcher ses troupes africaines de le quitter. Il pouvait n'avoir avec lui qu'un petit corps de mercenaires grecs ou cariens, et d'autre part les révoltés, à qui l'expérience des guerres récentes devait avoir appris le respect des hoplites et de leur discipline, pouvaient se rendre compte qu'une lutte de longue durée n'ayant aucune chance de tourner à leur avantage, le mieux pour eux était de profiter de la faiblesse momentanée du roi afin de s'en aller au plus vite, avant qu'il eût concentré le gros de son armée étrangère et recouvré la force nécessaire à les arrêter. Conjecture pour conjecture, cette considération ne vaut ni plus ni moins que celles qu'on a invoquées contre la véracité du récit d'Hérodote : elle a, comme elles, l'inconvénient de nous obliger à admettre comme réelles plusieurs circonstances que personne ne nous rapporte parmi les historiens anciens, et qui peuvent fort bien ne s'être jamais présentées.

En second lieu, il ne faut pas oublier qu'au début du règne officiel de Psammétique I^{er}, Tandamani-Tanoutamon occupa Memphis, et se maintint en Égypte pendant quelque temps. Les Assyriens le chassèrent, mais sa domination se rétablit à Thèbes après leur départ, et nous avons une inscription thébaine qui nous montre qu'elle dura au moins quatre ans.* Les Éthiopiens devaient tenir

* Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. CCCXLIX. Un monument de Boulaq montre les cartouches de Tanoutamon alternant avec ceux de Psammétique I^{er} dans une ville du Delta, preuve que la légitimité du roi éthiopien fut reconnue quelque temps jusqu'aux bords de la Méditerranée.

garnison dans certaines villes, et, le jour où Tandamani reentra définitivement en Ethiopie, il fallut bien qu'une partie au moins de ses soldats quittât l'Egypte pour y rentrer avec lui. Les campagnes successives de Taharqou et de Tandamani du sud au nord, celles d'Assourbanipal jusqu'à Kipkip du nord au sud, avaient habitué les habitants de la vallée aux mouvements des masses armées partie par terre, partie en bateaux sur le Nil. L'exode des garnisons indigènes, suivant l'exode des Ethiopiens et les razzias des Assyriens, ne devait donc présenter que peu de difficultés. Les inscriptions d'Assourbanipal et celles de Montoumhâi nous montrent quels désastres la vallée entière avait subis : si une cité comme Thèbes en était restée à demi-ruinée, qu'était-ce des cités moindres qui se trouvaient entre Memphis et Thèbes ? La marche des Assyriens au-delà de Memphis n'avait rencontré aucun obstacle sérieux de la part des habitants ; il n'y avait pas de raison pour que la marche des soldats révoltés en éprouvât. Les Thébains, par religion et par tradition, étaient partisans de la dynastie religieuse qui régnait à Napata, et ennemis des Saïtes : des troupes qui abandonnaient les Saïtes pour aller rejoindre les Ethiopiens n'étaient pas exposées à rencontrer chez eux beaucoup d'opposition, quand même les malheurs des années précédentes leurs auraient laissé la force nécessaire de s'opposer à la marche d'une armée.

En troisième lieu, le récit d'Hérodote nous apprend que l'émigration des garnisons creusa un vide notable dans la population militaire du pays : sans adopter le chiffre qu'il cite, on peut croire qu'un élément précieux de force fut perdu pour l'Egypte. Si nous examinons les monuments de l'époque Saïte, nous sommes frappés du silence qu'ils gardent sur ces  Mashaouasha, ou par abréviation , qui jouent un rôle prépondérant dans l'histoire au cours des siècles précédents. Encore au milieu du VIII^e siècle, tous ceux des princes égyptiens qui ne s'arrogeaient pas le titre de roi étaient *Chefs* ou *Grands Chef* des Mashaouasha. Les Mashaouasha formaient le noyau de toutes les petites armées féodales ; c'est aux Mashaouasha que Tafnakhti et les Saïtes avaient dû leur succès : bref, les Mashaouasha étaient auprès des seigneurs de ce temps ce que furent plus tard les Turcs, les Nègres, les Mamelouks Circassiens ou autres, auprès des sultans. Si on ne les rencontre plus à partir de Psammétique I^{er}, ne faut-il pas qu'une

révolution soit survenue qui ait brisé leur pouvoir, ou les ait chassé du pays? Substituons dans le récit d'Hérodote le nom de Mashaouasha au terme générique de soldats, et tout s'explique. Les Mashaouasha forment naturellement les garnisons des villes frontières, comme les soldats d'Hérodote; comme ceux-ci, ils avaient la prépondérance, par suite le poste d'honneur, dans les armées égyptiennes, et ils devaient, comme ceux-ci, se sentir blessés de la dégradation qu'on leur infligeait en leur préférant les hoplites grecs. Un départ en masse expliquerait la disparition soudaine de ces Mashaouasha après l'avènement de la XXVI^e dynastie. La raison pour laquelle ces Libyens d'origine se seraient dirigés vers l'Ethiopie ressort assez claire de l'histoire du temps. Les rois de Napata venaient de régner près d'un siècle sur l'Egypte, ils n'avaient pas renoncé à leurs prétentions, ils possédaient encore la plus grande partie de la Nubie; les Mashaouasha, ou simplement les *soldats*, en allant les rejoindre, pouvaient espérer que leur exil serait momentané, et qu'une campagne des Ethiopiens les ramènerait bientôt dans leurs foyers avec leurs anciens privilèges, campagne victorieuse comme celles de Piânkhi, de Shabako, de Taharqou, de Tandamani. Comme nous sommes moins renseignés encore sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie que sur l'histoire d'Egypte, nous ignorons pour quel motif la campagne n'eut pas lieu. Fut-ce querelle religieuse ou guerre civile entre deux prétendants? Le fait certain, d'après Hérodote, c'est que le roi d'Ethiopie, quel qu'il fût, transporta cette armée qui lui arrivait au sud de son empire. Ici encore le motif est assez apparent. Ces recrues turbulentes, laissées, en Nubie, pouvaient être tentées de retourner en Egypte, ou de se créer entre l'Egypte et l'Ethiopie un domaine indépendant. Internées sur la frontière méridionale, ils la protégeaient contre les incursions des peuples du Haut-Nil, et devenaient le boulevard de Napata et de Beroua. C'est peut-être l'extension qu'ils donnèrent vers le sud à la domination éthiopienne, qui, déplaçant le centre de gravité du royaume, fit de Bérroua-Méroé la seconde capitale, puis la capitale unique, de l'Ethiopie.

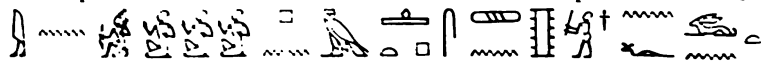
Enfin, l'histoire contemporaine de l'Egypte présente un fait analogue à celui que rapporte Hérodote. Quand Méhémet-Ali eut massacré les principaux beys en 1811, ce qui subsistait des mame-loucks émigra en masse vers la Haute-Egypte, puis, ne pouvant s'y maintenir, vers la Nubie et jusqu'à Dongolah. Les Egyptiens poursuivirent les fugitifs, et, ce fut en les pourchassant qu'ils finirent par conquérir de proche en proche les pays du Nil Moyen, et par

établir un empire analogue à celui des Pharaons. Cet épisode, déjà cité par Vivien St. Martin, peut servir à mieux comprendre le récit d'Hérodote, et ajouter un motif à ceux que je viens d'indiquer d'en admettre l'authenticité en gros, sinon dans le détail.

§ 30.—On rencontre parfois, dans les textes de toutes les époques, le signe , comme idéogramme ou comme déterminatif. Un exemple, emprunté à la pyramide de Pepi II, suffira à en montrer l'emploi (l. 957):  "Ce taureau-là qui sort du parc, ce serpent-là qui sort du Soleil." Le signe n'est ni un collier, ni une suite de gouttes d'eau comme on l'a dit quelquefois: c'est un cercle de grosses pierres fichées en terre et formant un parc pour les bestiaux. Les bergers en élèvent encore de ce genre dans certaines parties de l'Égypte, et j'en ai vu beaucoup qui étaient tout récents à l'entrée de l'Ouady du Sheikh Saboun, à l'est d'Akhmim.

Les parcs du voisinage d'Akhmim sont de petites dimensions; mais ailleurs il y en a de fort grands, et qui répondent entièrement aux *nawamis* du Sinaï et aux parcs à bétail encore en usage dans beaucoup de pays de l'Afrique et de l'Asie. "Quand une tribu a choisi un site pour y camper, le bétail est rassemblé en un même endroit, et les tentes ou les huttes s'élèvent en cercle tout autour: le tout est enfermé ensuite d'un mur en pierre assez bas, dans lequel on plante des touffes épaisses d'acacia épineux, dont les branches emmêlées et les pointes allongées forment autour du campement une haie parfaitement impénétrable. On les appelle *douar*, et je ne doute guère qu'il faille y reconnaître les *Hazereth* en usage chez les tribus pastorales que la Bible mentionne."*

Le signe est employé sous une de ses formes secondaires dans l'inscription d'Ouni (l. 42), au récit d'une guerre contre les Hirou-shâitou, les *maîtres des sables*, les Bédouins, apparentés peut-être à ceux qui ont bâti les enceintes si bien étudiées par M. Palmer.

 "Cette armée alla en paix (*bi 's-salamah*)

* E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 321, 322.

† Le signe de l'original donne un homme qui démolit un mur avec une pioche.

et démolit les *douar* des Bedouins." Le déterminatif nous montre une ellipse assez régulière, qui répond au cercle qu'on voit plus haut. Le mot OUNIT, OUONIT, paraît s'être conservé, avec changement de genre, dans le copte ΟΥΔΝ Μ. ΠΙ χῶμα *Terra, pulvis; terra aggesta, agger*. Les Hiroushaitou vivaient donc, si cette explication est exacte, d'une façon analogue à celle des tribus dont M. Palmer a retrouvé les tombes et les villages dans son exploration du Sinaï. Ils avaient des *douar*, des *ronds* de pierres, cultivaient la vigne et le figuier, et la description qu'Ouni fait de leur pays répond bien à celle que M. Palmer donne des parties du Negeb, situées sur la lisière méridionale du désert de Tih, autour d'Ain-Gadis, et au-delà. On pourrait, d'après cela, fixer leur habitat, au moins celui des tribus auxquelles Ouni eut à faire, dans les régions jadis fertiles, aujourd'hui ruinées, qui s'étendent au-delà de l'Ouady el-Arish. Le pays de TIBA, au nord du pays des Hiroushâitou, et qu'Ouni atteint en bateau, serait la contrée entre el-Arish et Gaza.



A CUP WITH HIERATIC INSCRIPTION.

By F. L. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

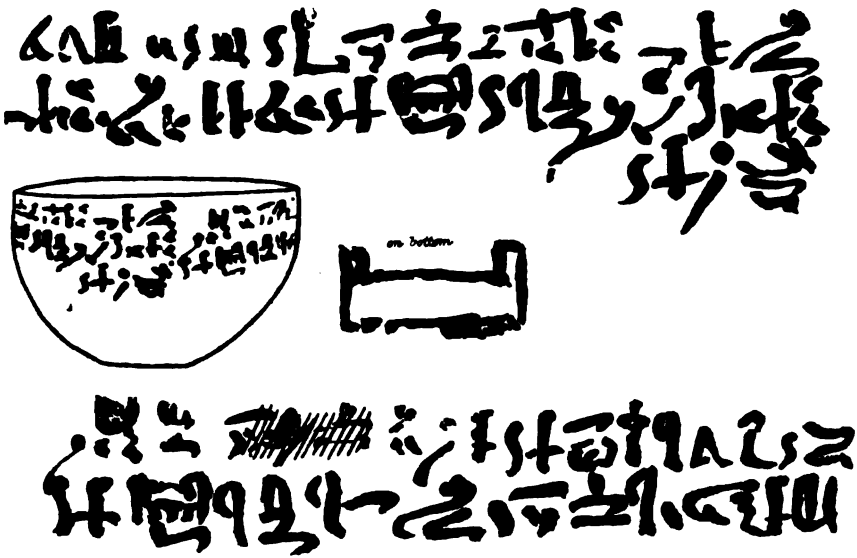
Last year my friend Mr. Newberry observed an inscribed Egyptian cup in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, and showed me a rough copy of the legend, which proved to be of a most unusual character. By the kindness of Mr. Henry Balfour, M.A., Curator of the Museum, who brought the cup up to London, I have been enabled to examine it at leisure, and settle the reading of the signs, which the irregular surface, the faintness of the ink, and the occasional peculiarity of form rendered doubtful.

Readers of the *Proceedings* are familiar with the mediæval practice in the East of writing magical formulæ inside bowls, and plenty of metal vessels are to be found with inscriptions incised within and without, to increase the efficacy of medicines or avert the powers of demons. Such a practice may well have found favour in ancient Egypt: the cup in question had, in fact, been supposed to belong to the class of "magic medicine bowls;" but the inscription upon it demands a different explanation.

The writing, in black ink, forms a little more than two lines, carried spirally round the outside of the cup immediately beneath the rim.



*t̄t̄ àn Tlā-da sa Ànni: bu-pui ī uāru, s-ānh su ātf-ā Ànni pn
hmt-f Tlā, mt-f qrsu su tāiā mt: àn hā-s Ànni t̄t̄ns, qrs su āā sū.*



CUP WITH HIERATIC LEGEND,

Presented to the Pitt-Rivers Museum Oxford
by J.L. Strachan-Davidson Esq., Balliol College 1887.

1

1

By attending closely to the grammar we can translate this involved sentence—

"Says Teta-āa, son of Ānni, 'he who has fled has not returned, whom my father, the aforesaid Ānni, and his wife Teta, brought into the world (*or* nurtured as an adopted son?) and whom, when he died, my mother buried. Her husband Ānni said to her, Bury him and succeed him.'"

Without doubt, Ānni had two wives: the first was named Teta, and had a son or adopted child, who is here described as "he who has fled," *i.e.*, the deceased. By a second wife or concubine, Ānni had another son Teta-āa, the writer of the inscription, and when the first child died, Ānni bid her bury him and take his inheritance.

Why was this statement written on a perfect cup, and not on a papyrus, a wooden tablet, a potsherd or a piece of stone? It is a most unusual occurrence, and requires explanation.

In all countries, out of every thousand perfect ancient vases, nine hundred and ninety-nine have been found in tombs—the great preservers of pots. Thus the probability is in favour of the inscribed cup having been deposited in a tomb. Whether the sign  (burial) faintly visible on the bottom is to be considered further evidence of its destination, or only a trial of the pen preparatory to the formation of the sign in the legend, is doubtful.

I take it that the cup, although it has nothing to do with medicine, is a record of another superstition. The inscription is clearly a statement by Teta-āa to establish his claim, through that of his mother, to the property either of Ānni or of Ānni's elder son by a different mother. The cup, we suppose, was deposited in a tomb, and probably, from its nature, was filled with food or drink. It is likely enough then that, before or after entering on his inheritance, Teta-āa thought it prudent to appease the ghost of his elder brother by an offering of food accompanied by an explanation of his just title; or else, in consequence of some litigation, he may have been compelled by the judge in the case to deposit his statement in the tomb as a guarantee of his veracity. The powers of the underworld would know how to deal with him in case his statement were untrue.

The vessel is semi-globular, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, of rough red ware, faced inside and out with pale

yellowish : * below, it shows signs of having been clumsily removed from the wheel and trimmed. The style of the hieratic and the proper names prove that it cannot be later than the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, and it may be much older.†

[The legend furnishes the earliest instance of the curious negative form   \\. A cavity caused by a pebble in the clay has played havoc with the name *Ānni* at its second occurrence in l. 1. Lastly, I would call attention to the incorrect (?) forms of ,  and  in the hieratic.]

* Its cubic contents are $13\frac{1}{4}$ cubic inches, approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ *hnu* (29·6 cubic inches). The *hnu* and $\frac{1}{2}$ *hnu* are commonly prescribed as the larger quantities to be used for magical and medicinal purposes.

† Mr. Strachan - Davidson, who presented this interesting object to the Museum, believes that he obtained it from a dealer at Luxor in the year 1886-7.

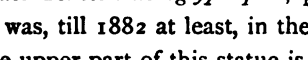


ON SOME EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE
MUSÉE GUIMET AT PARIS.

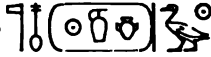
By DR. A. WIEDEMANN.

The splendid Museum founded by M. Guimet in Paris contains a large number of Egyptian antiquities. By the kindness of the Conservator of the Museum, M. Milloué, to whom I am glad to be able to express my sincerest thanks, for kindly allowing me to study, during my sojourn in Paris last September, their inscriptions, I can now take the opportunity of bringing at least some of them to the knowledge of the readers of the *Proceedings*.

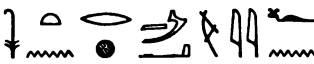
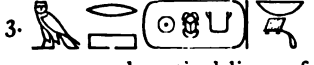
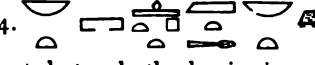
1. Large bust from a statue, of stone, with well-preserved head.

On the back  As the statue is that of a woman, it must represent Šep-en-āpt, the wife of Psammetich I, in the form of a goddess (Isis?), who was adored at T'a-mut. This being the name of the part of Thebes, which surrounded the temples of Medinet-Abu and Dêr el Medinet, the statue probably stood in the small buildings at Medinet-Abu, which were erected during the XXVth dynasty. A statue with the name of the same queen was found in these ruins in 1854 (publ. Greene, Fouilles à Thèbes, pl. 8, No. 1; cf. E. de Rougé, *Notes de Quelques Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, publ. par Greene, p. 36, sqq. The statue was, till 1882 at least, in the so-called French house at Luqsor). The upper part of this statue is broken off nearly at the same place where the Paris example begins; it would be interesting to examine if the two pieces belong to one and the same statue, or at least to similar ones.

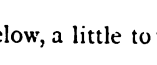
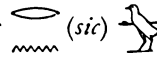
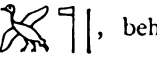
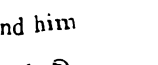
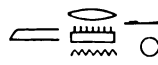
2. Handle of a sistrum of clay with beautiful blue glaze. On the front , on the back . The form , instead of the usual , is worth noting.

A smaller handle of the same kind, broken at the underpart, still preserves the prenomen of King Amasis .... written on the front and on the back.

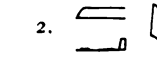
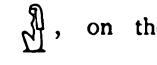
3. Fragment of a very well executed calcareous stela, cut in rectangular form, 40 × 33 cm. On the left an altar with different offerings; on the right a sitting man, behind whom a tall and slender woman stands. Above them four vertical lines:

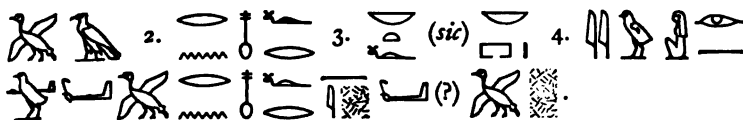
1.  2.  3.  4.  Below were several vertical lines of text, but only the beginning of a few of them is left; thus in the third from the right , fourth , fifth  (?), and, afterwards, more to the left,  and .

4. Stela rounded at the top, 43 × 27 cm., of exceedingly bad workmanship, but showing the characteristics of about the end of the XVIIIth to the XIXth dynasty. First register: a standing man making a libation to a person sitting on a throne. The latter wears round his neck a series of necklaces like the man in L. D., III, 105a; his cloth shows the form of those of the man in L. D., III, 114a, and does not cover the navel. The cone represented on the head of the two quoted figures is also to be seen on the head of our man. Between him and the worshipper is an altar, and behind him a bunch of flowers. Above is written in the middle

 (sic)    Below, a little to the left, , and underneath ; besides, above the worshipper  (sic)  2.  (sic). Between the altar and the sitting man   , behind him   , behind the flowers .

Second register: In the middle an altar, on the right and left, a man and a woman are sitting. Above them, on the left

1.  2.  3. , on the right



I have just noted that the dress of the prince of Kusch represented on the stela is similar to that of a personage in L. D., III, 114. The reliefs from Schatau published there (e-h) show a   who lived under king Ai, and who is most likely to be identified with the Pa-ur of the Guimet stela. This prince of Kusch was probably the successor of Hui and Amenhetep, who filled the same office under Amen-tut-anch (L. D., III, 115-8). As his successors may be noted Anf (L. D., III, 138n) and Amen-em-apt (L. D., III, 141h, k), who appear under Seti I. The latter of them is still named at the beginning of the reign of Ramses II, and is called in the temple of Bet-el-Walli, where is found also a prince of Kusch,  (L. D., III, 176g), the son of  —A  is known by the funerary monument of Amen-em-ant at Naples (cf. Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, nr. 905), to have been the brother of this Amen-em-ant. Brugsch quotes in the pedigree given in his *Gesch. Aegyptens*, p. 541, this Pa-ur as the father of the prince of Kusch, Amen-em-apt. This indication is not found in the monument itself, and, as far as I know, is based only on the inscription L. D., III, 176g, which records no title for the father of Amen-em-apt. The relationship of these two princes of Kusch must therefore remain doubtful. Doubtful also is the identity of the Pa-ur under Ramses II and of the Pa-ur under Ai, an identity suggested by Brugsch (*l.c.*, p. 438), and in no way improbable.

The adoration of Pa-ur, and his designation as  the god, is remarkable. Many texts speak of the adoration of the Egyptian king during his lifetime, and one of his most ordinary titles was  "the good god," but the epithet  was a very rare one even for Pharaoh.* To private persons a cult was regularly devoted after death with the purpose of providing for their food, but this has

* It is found in the form  for Ramses; cf. L. D.
III. 191; Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Dér el-bahari*, p. 557.



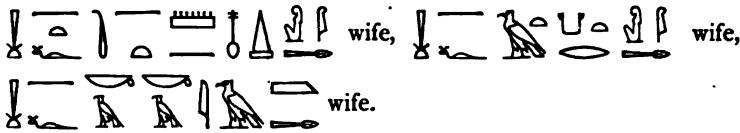
7. Stela of calcareous stone in the style of about the XIXth dynasty, 47 × 31 cm. The upper part has been mutilated by a modern hand, which gave to it a rounded form and destroyed some of the initial signs. First register : On the right and on the left a male worshipper before an altar, behind which stands the bandaged Osiris with the crown of Upper Egypt, the  and the  in the hands. Above, written in the middle, ; to the left in vertical lines  — 2.

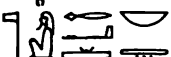
  3.  4. ; to the right  2.  3.  4.

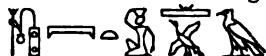
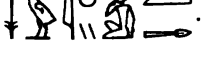
Second register : Inscriptions running in vertical columns from left to right above kneeling persons :

 wife,  man,  wife,  wife,  wife

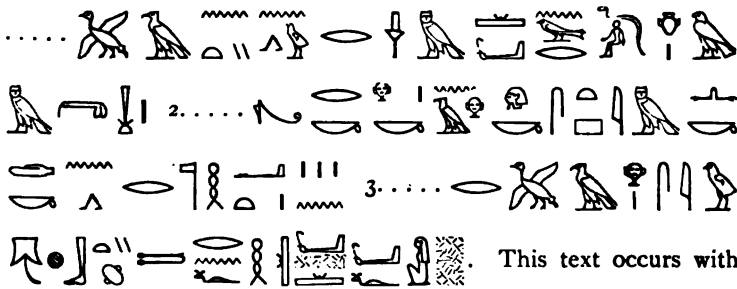
Third register : Inscriptions as above :       



8. Stela of calcareous stone, rounded at the top. Above, Anubis sitting with  in the right and  in the left hand, and the inscription  (sic) 2.  3. . Before him an altar and a kneeling worshipper, above whom is written  (sic). In the second register three kneeling and adoring wives; written above  2. . As the name of the deceased is missing, the stela was probably not made to order but held in stock ready for a purchaser, who had only to give the names, which could be inserted in the blank spaces. Nevertheless in the second register a title referring to one of the women was written beforehand.

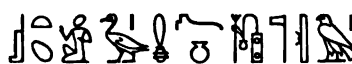
9. Small calcareous stela rounded at the top. Above   . Below stands a bearded man holding in his left hand a writing-tablet. Before him runs in a vertical line  .

10. Door-post of calcareous stone. Three vertical lines with the following part of an inscription :—



This text occurs with some variants as the first text of the unpublished Papyrus 37 c (1442 c) at Berlin, where it begins  etc. The second text of the Berlin-Papyrus is with variants the

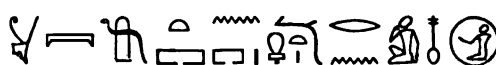
same as the text in the Louvre-Papyrus 3237, treated by Chabas, Devéria, and lastly by Chassinat in the *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., XIV, p. 14.

Below the representation of a man and a woman sitting before an altar; above them their names  and .

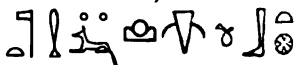
11. Large alabaster canopic-vase with lid in form of a man's head:

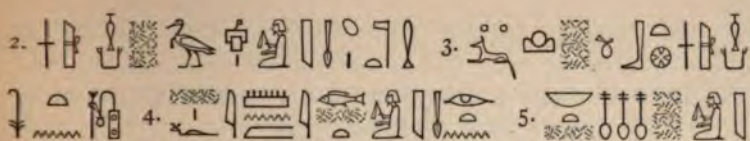
 2.  3. 
.

12. Wooden palette of a scribe, with six holes for colours and the inscription in one vertical line:—

13. Fifteen cones; their inscriptions are already partly known by other cones published by myself, *Die altaeg. Grabkegel in Trav. du Congr. de Leide*, II (quoted below as W.), and Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887, pl. 21-3 (quoted below as P.). The inscription of *a* is found on pieces quoted W. IV, 12, P. nr. 86, cf. *Proceedings* XI, 418; *b* in W. I, 24; *c* in P. 31 (the name of the wife is written ); *d-e* in P. 38; *f-g* in W. III, 2 (no lacuna behind ); *h-i* in W. IV, 14 (correct there the misprint  into ). The name is written in the Musée Guimet , the jackal the first time , the second . Behind the name of the father  is missing. On *i* the first title begins  instead of: .

Not published, or offering at least, new variants, are the inscriptions of the following pieces:—*k*. 



Cf. to it the text of *h* and *i*.—*l*. In the middle, at the top, the boat with the sun-disk, below two vertical lines

2. On the right and left an adoring man kneeling on the sign . Cf. W. II, 2 and VIII. 4.—*m*.

2. line 3 and 4 are destroyed. Probably identical with W. III, 7, Wiedemann, *Aeg. Inschriften aus Agram*, p. 5, and P. 5 (here the beginning of l. 3

is misprinted for).—*n*.

3. 4. —*o*.

2. 3. For the formula

cf. W. VII.—*p*. In quadrangular form. A man and a woman are sitting before an altar, which is covered with offerings. Above four lines

2. 3. 4.

The execution of *g* has a special technical interest. In my already quoted paper on the cones I expressed, induced by the identity of several cone-inscriptions, the opinion that the inscriptions were made with a stamp, and not engraved with the hand, as per example the texts on the *uṣebti*; *g* offers the proof of this idea. The stamp had made on it no clear signs, when it was pressed on the wet clay; it was, therefore, impressed a second time, but in doing so the stamper did not well measure his space and therefore placed the stamp a little out of the first impression. The cone was then baked and so the last signs of the lines of the inscription are now to be seen twice.

14. In this last place I may mention that the Museum possesses a "Bügel Kanne" in the Mykenae-style, showing an ornament around its neck. This example was found in the necropolis of Sidon, and shows from the place where it was discovered how far distant this ware was exported from its original place of manufacture.

REMARKS ON "UN PAPYRUS BILINGUE DU TEMPS DE PHILOPATOR."

(See *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, pp. 60, 120, 229.)

By PROF. A. EISENLOHR.

In a valuable paper of M. Revillout, "Un Papyrus Bilingue du temps de Philopator," in the *Proceedings* for December, 1891, p. 67, I read the following phrase: "Le mot *κεράμιον* γ est rendu en démotique par le mot | ⲃ ⲁ | *arpe*, ou ⲉ ⲁ | (et c'est une forte bévue d'Eisenlohr que d'avoir voulu lire de même la mesure de superficie ⲉ ⲁ | ⲛ)." If there is a "bévue," it is M. Revillout himself who has made the *bévue*. He writes, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 135, and Taf. VIII, 16: "J'avais d'abord considéré B (| ⲃ ⲁ | Taf. VIII, 16) comme équivalent à aroure. Le mot B est tout-à-fait semblable à celui qui correspond à *πῆχυς* dans les actes démotiques thébains." That *πῆχυς* is written ⲉ ⲁ |, cf. A. Peyron, *Papiri Greco-Egizi di Zoide*, T. III; and M. Revillout continues: "Je garderai donc le sens d'aroure, que j'avais donné à la grande mesure B appelée *πῆχυς* dans les contrats de Thèbes." It is evident that M. Revillout has read both words as being alike, and taken them for the same. Afterwards he changed his opinion, and correctly took the first word for *arpe*, wine, vineyard; the second, *aten*, for the 100th part of the arura. If we search for the origin of the error, we must go back to Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique* (1858), where, p. 62,⁴ a passage from a demotic contract of Berlin (A. X. 9) is quoted, wherein a field of "10 artabes" is given by ⲁ ⲉ ⲁ | ⲛ. Probably Brugsch has incorrectly given or misunderstood the signs of the papyrus. For my part I must decline to be responsible for the faults of others. Nevertheless we must feel obliged to M. Revillout for his clear explanation of the three superficial measures | ⲛ, viz.: the arura = 100 ⲉ ⲁ | ⲛ = 10,000 ⲁ ⲁ ⲉ ⲁ square ell.

I recognize the importance of the recently acquired papyrus bilingue of Philopator, but I do not agree in the reading of the partitions of the field measure with M. Revillout, who invents new

of the Bologna papyrus the error is in the original. After these premises we shall read without difficulty the cyphers of the new Philopator papyrus, where the Greek translation, ἀρούρον ἐν τέρα ἡμισίου ὀγδόου, is given for $\angle / \lambda \cup 11\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} = \text{ἦ} / \lambda 11\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$. So the newly invented signs for $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ disappear. Except the above correction of M. Revillout's signs of partitions, I fully acknowledge the high worth of his paper. From him, who has already done so much for the explanation of that difficult part of literature, the treaties, I await with expectation his promised translation and elucidation of the whole of the Psammetich and Amasis papyri.

Allow me now, dear Mr. Rylands, to give another rectification to the Secretary's Report for the year 1891 in the January number of the *Proceedings*. When you say, page 102, Prof. Dr. Eisenlohr, who was the first to publish a facsimile of the Rhind Mathematical papyrus, you restrain the importance of my work. As you know perfectly well, I have not only given the facsimile of the papyrus, but have translated and commented, verbally and scientifically, the papyrus, adding a dictionary to the whole. I have already been compelled to defend my priority against the pretensions of Mr. Griffith, and must very earnestly protest against the allegations that Mr. Griffith has in any way contributed to a better understanding of that papyrus. If he thinks (*Proceedings*, December, p. 42) that he has in the Kahun papyri found a new proof for the reading of the cartouche of the Ebers Calendar as that of Ra-sar-Ka (Amenophis I), he will oblige me by publishing in the *Proceedings* a correct facsimile of the cartouches from the Kahun papyri. No one is more willing to confess his errors than myself, but only after having clear evidence that they are such. So long as such evidence is wanting, I must declare the reading of the cartouche by Ebers and Erman as that of Amenophis I, as erroneous.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 3rd May, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*). "The Egyptian Book of the Dead." Translation and Commentary continued. Meanings of certain primitive words.



NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII.



**THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE
LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.**

- ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenon im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder.
- AMELINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
——— Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
- AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
——— A., AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
- Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts.
- BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
- BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
- BRUGSCH-BEY, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler Vols. I-III (Brugsch).
——— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (6 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
- BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
- CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.
- CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.
- DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
——— 2nd series, 1869.
——— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
——— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
- EARLE's Philology of the English Tongue.
- EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers. Die Masse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten.
- ERMAN, Papyrus Westcar.
- Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
- GAYET, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.
- GOLENISCHKEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
- HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
- JASTROW, M., A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic.
- JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.
- JOACHIM, H., Papyrus Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.
- KREBS, F., De Chnemothi nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.
- LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
- LEFEBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
- LEGRAIN, G., Le Livre des Transformations. Papyrus démotique du Louvre.
- LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
- LIEBLEIN, J., Dictionnaire des Noms Hiéroglyphiques. 1871. 2 vols., 8vo.
- LYON, D. G., An Assyrian Manual.

- MÜLLER, D. H., *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*.
 PLACE, *Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869*. 3 vols., folio.
 POGNON, *Les Inscriptions Babylonniennes du Wadi Brissa*.
 RAWLINSON, CANON, *6th Ancient Monarchy*.
 ROBIOU, *Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides*.
 ——— *Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides*.
 SAINTE MARIE, *Mission à Carthage*.
 SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*.
 SCHROEDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*.
 STRAUSS AND TORNEY, *Der Altägyptische Götterglaube*.
 VIREY, P., *Quelques Observations sur l'Épisode d'Aristée, à propos d'un Monument Égyptien*.
 VISSER, I., *Hebreeuwsche Archæologie*. Utrecht, 1891.
 WALTHER, J., *Les Découvertes de Ninive et de Babylone au point de vue biblique*. Lausanne, 1890.
 WILCKEN, M., *Actenstücke aus der Königl. Bank zu Theben*.
 WINCKLER, HUGO, *Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna*. Vols. I and II.
 WEISSLEACH, F. H., *Die Achaemeniden Inschriften Zweiter Art*.
 WESSELEY, C., *Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El Fajum*.
Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch., Vol. I, 1847; Vols. IV to XII, 1850 to 1858, inclusive; Vol. XX to Vol. XXXII, 1866 to 1878.
 ZIMMERN, H., *Die Assyriologie als Hilfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments*.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Seventh Meeting, 3rd May, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, ESQ., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, who died on the 15th April. Miss Edwards was one of the earliest members, and made from time to time communications to the Society.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—H. Villiers Stuart, of Dromana, M.P. Egypt after the War, being a narrative of a Tour of Inspection. Notices of the latest Archæological Discoveries, and a revised account of the Funeral Canopy of an Egyptian Queen. London. 8vo. 1883.

From the Author:—Arthur Davis. The Hebrew Accents of the Twenty-one Books of the Bible. London. 8vo. 1892.

{No. cviii.]

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. *Degli Hittiti o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni*, Chap. XVIII.

Estratto dalla *Civiltà Cattolica*, Serie XV. Vol. II. Aprile, 1892.

From John M. Cook, Esq.:—*The Nile. Notes for Travellers in Egypt*. By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., F.S.A. London. 8vo. Thos. Cook & Son. 1890. Privately printed.

The following Candidate was submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 5th April, 1892, and elected a Member of the Society:—

W. M. Bothwell, A.K.C., 27, Mansfield Road, N.W.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 14th June, 1892:—

Boris Touraëff, Wassily Ostrow, 7^{me} ligne. No. 40, Quartier No. 8. St. Petersburg.

Albert Fleming, Loughrig, Ambleside.

Mrs. Tirard, 28, Weymouth Street, Portland Place.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary (continuation), Meanings of certain Primitive Words.

Remarks were added by Mr. J. Offord, Mr. Geo. Thorpe, F.S.A., Mr. J. Pollard, Rev. J. Marshall, Rev. A. Löwy, and the President.

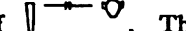
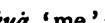
Thanks were returned for this Communication.



Mr. Renouf read a paper of which the following is a brief summary.

On the occasion of reading the translation of the first chapters of the Book of the Dead, I spoke of the fifth as presenting difficulties through which I did not as yet see my way. My predecessors, for instance, had understood the last sentence as saying, "I live upon the entrails of monkeys." Although this translation is quite literal, nothing would induce me to believe that the author of the chapter meant a god to utter such rubbish. I am now quite sure about the solution of this difficulty.

The Egyptian words in the later texts are , the alternative reading being itself a proof that the difficulty of the text was already felt by some Egyptian scribe.

But if the scribe had consulted the oldest texts accessible in his day, he would probably have seen another way out. Our oldest MS., that of Nebseni, reads,  *bes-kuà abu àāā(n)u*, which signify literally, "antedeunt me corda salutantium.' The word  *bes* is a very common one in pictures representing the introduction of a king or a god into a temple. It is the technical term used in the Tablet of Canopus for the inducing, by the king, of priests into their offices. The subject of this verb is  *hearts*; an independent word, instead of being the mere determinative of . The object of the verb is the speaker——*kuà*, 'me,' as the papyrus *Pa* reads, like *Aa*. And it is easy to see how the later text, which is already found in *Ax*, has been corrupted out of the older.

The only remaining difficulty is that about the monkeys, and I have in my note upon the chapter explained that the ape is merely ideographic of the word *ān* in the sense of salutation.

Another cause of the corruption of the text is the fact that the expression *besku aānnu* occurs in other

parts of the Book of the Dead. But in these places the expression signifies no more than 'hearts, wishes, affections, feelings of those who salute.' The Egyptian use of this metaphorical phraseology was illustrated by the parallel use of words in Sanskrit, Hebrew, Greek and other forms of speech, and the rest of the paper was devoted to the elucidation of elementary principles which have to be borne in mind when treating of the vocabulary of an ancient language.

It has long been recognised by all but amateur philologists, that all words expressive of immaterial ideas are derived from words expressive of material subjects; that all names are general terms, and not signs of individual things; that even proper names are appellatives; that all words come from roots, and that all roots are expressive of concepts. It is not always easy to discover what was the primitive concept attached to a particular word, but it would not be less idle to assert that there are effects without cause, than to say that a word means nothing more than the object before one.

The study of the Egyptian language leads one constantly to recognise the truth of some of Ludwig Noiré's conclusions. We have to acknowledge that the roots of language imply the consciousness of repeated *human* acts, transitive or intransitive, done in common; that some of the commonest words like 'father,' 'mother,' 'eating,' 'drinking,' 'living,' had originally other meanings, that things were, so to speak, ticketed by the human action that spent itself upon them.

I have on other occasions illustrated this view by the Egyptian names of the Sky and of the Nile. I have pointed out that the Egyptian word  *am*, 'eat,' is connected with a word signifying 'seize,' just as the Latin *praeda* is connected with *prehendere*. And it would be easy to quote other illustrations. But one of the most interesting is that drawn from the Egyptian name of the soul, *ba*, or more fully *bai*.

The word is ideographically written  or ,* both the Ram and the cranelike bird being called *ba*. Some have cleverly inferred that the Egyptians thought that the soul was of a birdlike form, and others have not hesitated to consider *ba* as expressive of the cry of the *ram*. The odd thing is that only the ram has this

* The human head (with a beard) sometimes given to the bird, merely indicates the *divine* nature of the soul.

name, not the *sheep* or the *lamb*, who nevertheless indulge in the same cry. The truth is that in spite of appearances the word *ba* is not onomatopoeic here. Whether applied to the ram or to the heron, the word is expressive of human action and signifies 'digging through, cleaving, piercing, splitting.' The hieroglyphic variants are very expressive :

 (the last is already found in *Denkm.* II, 51).

The Ram is called in Egyptian *ba* on account of the digs which he makes with his head, and a force which has occasioned the name of 'ram' to be given to powerful engines.

The Heron is also called *ba* because with its bill it *cleaves* the fishes which it attacks.

And the word which *we* translate Soul or Spirit is called *ba*, because it is conceived as something which 'pierces, penetrates and divides.'

It is right to point out (to those who may wonder at this Egyptian etymology) that the Latin *scio* 'I know' is etymologically akin to *seco* 'cut,' *securis* 'an axe,' and the Greek *κεῖω*, *κεῖζω* 'split, cleave.'



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER XV.

HYMN I (1).

Adored be Râ, when he riseth up from the eastern horizon of Heaven ; they who accompany him extol him.

Here is the Osiris *N*, the Victorious, and he saith :—

O thou radiant Orb, who arisest each day from the Horizon, shine thou upon the face of the Osiris *N* who adoreth thee at dawn, and propitiateth thee at the gloaming.

Let the soul of *N* come forth with thee into heaven, let him journey in the Mâatit boat and finish his course in the Sektit boat (2) till he reach in heaven unto the Stars which set (3).

He saith, as he invoceth his Lord, the Eternal one :—

Hail to thee, Horus of the Two Horizons (4), who art Chepera Self-originating (5) ; Beautiful is thy rising up from the horizon, enlightening the two Earths with thy rays. All the gods are in exultation when they see thee the King of Heaven, with the Nebt Unnut * established upon thy head (and the diadem of the South and the diadem of the North upon thy brow) which maketh her abode in front of thee.

Thoth abideth at the prow of thy bark that he may destroy all thine adversaries.

They who dwell in the Tuat are coming forth to meet thy Majesty, and to gaze upon that beautiful semblance of thine.

And I too come to thee that I may be with thee to see thine Orb each day ; let me not be detained, let me not be repulsed.

Let my limbs be renewed by the contemplation of thy glories, like all thy servants, for I am one of those who honoured thee upon earth.

Let me reach the Land of Ages, let me gain the Land of Eternity ; for thou, my Lord, hast destined them for me.

* One of the names of the Uræus on the royal crown.

The Osiris *N*, he saith :—

Hail to thee who risest up from the Horizon as Râ in union with Maât ; thou dost traverse heaven in peace and all men see thee as thou goest forward. And after being concealed from them thou presentest thyself at the dawn of each day.

Brisk is the bark under thy Majesty.

Thy rays are upon men's faces ; the golden glories they cannot be told : not to be described are thy beams.

The Land of the gods, the colours of Punit (6) are seen in them ; that men may form an estimate of that which is hidden from their faces.

Alone art thou when thy form riseth up upon the Sky ; let me advance as thou advancest, like thy Majesty, without a pause, O Râ, whom none can outstrip.

A mighty march is thine ; Leagues by millions, and hundreds of thousands, in a small moment thou hast travelled them, and thou goest to rest.

Thou completest the hours of the Night, according as thou hast measured them out. And when thou hast completed them according to thy rule, day dawneth.

Thou presentest thyself at thy place as Râ, as thou risest from the Horizon.

The Osiris *N*, he saith, as he adoreth thee when thou shinest ; He saith to thee when thou risest up at dawn, as he exalteth thine appearance ;

Thou comest forth, most glorious one, fashioning and forming thy limbs, giving birth to them without any labour, as Râ rising in heaven.

Grant that I may attain to the Heaven of eternity and the abode of thy servants ; let me be united with the venerable and mighty Chu * of the Netherworld ; let me come forth with them to see thy glories, as thou shinest at the gloaming, when thy mother Nut (7) enfoldeth thee.

And when thou turnest thy face to the West, mine hands are in adoration to thy setting as one who liveth ;† for it is thou who hast created Eternity.

* 'The Glorious ones' ; see Note I on Chapter I.

† See note II.

I have set thee in my heart unceasingly, who art more mighty than all the gods,

The Osiris *N*, he saith :—

Adoration to thee, who arisest out of the Golden, and givest light to the earth on the day of thy birth. Thy mother bringeth thee forth upon her hands, that thou mayest give light to the whole circumference which the Solar Orb enlighteneth.

Mighty Enlightener, who risest up in the Sky and raisest up the tribes of men by thy Stream, and givest holiday to all districts, towns and temples ; and raising food, nourishment and dainties.

Most Mighty one, master of masters, who defendest every abode of thine against wrong, Most Glorious one in thine Evening Bark, Most Illustrious in thy Morning Bark.

Glorify thou the Osiris *N* in the Netherworld, grant that he may come into Amenta without defect and free from wrong, and set him among the faithful and venerable ones.

Let him be united with the souls in the Netherworld, let him sail about in the country of Aarru * after a joyful journey.

Here is the Osiris *N*.

Come forth into Heaven, sail across the firmament and enter into brotherhood with the Stars, let salutation be made to thee in the Bark, let invocation be made to thee in the Morning Bark. Contemplate Râ within his Ark and do thou propitiate his Orb daily. See the Ant fish in its birth from the emerald stream, and see the Abtu fish and its rotations. (8)

And let the offender † fall prostrate, when he meditates destruction for me, by blows upon his back-bone.

Râ springs forth with a fair wind ; the Evening Bark speeds on and reaches the Haven ; the crew of Râ are in exultation when they look upon him ; the Mistress of Life, her heart is delighted at the overthrow of the adversary of her Lord.

See thou Hórus at the Look-out at the bow, (9) and at his sides Thoth and Maât. All the gods are in exultation when they behold Râ coming in peace to give new life to the hearts of the Chu, and here is the Osiris *N* along with them.

* An abode of bliss (like the Elysian fields) frequently mentioned and described in the Book of the Dead.

† The dragon Âpepi.

[LITANY]. (10)

Adored be Râ, as he setteth in the Land of Life. (11)

Hail to thee, who hast come as Tmu, and hast been the creator of the cycle of the gods, (12)

Hail to thee, who hast come as the Soul of Souls, August one in Amenta,

Hail to thee, who art above the gods and who lightenest up the Tuat with thy glories,

Hail to thee, who comest in splendour, and goest round in thine Orb,

Hail to thee, who art mightier than the gods, who art crowned in Heaven and King in the Tuat,

Hail to thee, who openest the Tuat and disposest of all its doors,

Hail to thee, supreme among the gods, and Weigher of Words in the Netherworld.

Hail to thee, who art in thy Nest, and stirrest the Tuat with thy glory,

Hail to thee, the Great, the Mighty, whose enemies are laid prostrate at their blocks,

Hail to thee, who slaughterest the Sebau and annihilatest Âpepi,

[Each invocation of this Litany is followed by]

Give thou delicious breezes of the north wind to the Osiris *N*.

Horus openeth; the Great, the Mighty, who divideth the earths, the great one who resteth in the Mountain of the West, and lighteneth up the Tuat with his glories and the Souls in their hidden abode, by shining into their sepulchres.

By hurling harm against the foe thou hast utterly destroyed all the adversaries of the Osiris *N*.

HYMN II. (13)

The Osiris *N*; he saith when he adoreth Râ, the Horus of the Two Horizons, when setting in the Land of Life,

Adoration to thee, O Râ; Adoration to thee, O Tmu, at thy coming in thy beauty, in thy manifestation, in thy mastery.

Thou sailest over the Heaven, thou travellest over earth and in splendour thou reachest the zenith; the two divisions of Heaven are in obeisance to thee, and yield adoration to thee,

All the gods of Amenta are in exultation at thy glory. They whose abodes are hidden adore thee, and the Great Ones make offerings to thee, who for thee have created the soil of earth (14).

They who are on the Horizon convey thee, and they who are in the Evening Bark transport thee, and they say—Adoration at the approach of thy Majesty, Come, Come, approach in peace, Oh to thee, Welcome, Lord of Heaven, King of Akerta.

Thy mother Isis (15) embraceth thee, seeing in thee her son, as the Lord of Terror, the All-Powerful, as he setteth in the Land of Life at night.

Thy father Tatunen (16), carrieth thee, and his arms are stretched out behind thee, and that which hath taken place is made fast upon earth.

Wake up from thy rest, thine abode is in Manu.

Let me be entrusted to the fidelity which is yielded to Osiris.

Come, O Râ, Tmu, be thou adored. Do thy will daily. Grant success in presence of the cycle of the mighty gods.

Beautiful art thou, O Râ, in thine Horizon of the West ; O Lord of Law, in the midst of the Horizon.

Very terrible art thou, rich art thou in attributes, and great is thy love to those who dwell in the Tuat.

To be said, when Râ sets in the Land of Life ; with hands bent downward (17).

HYMN III (18).

Adoration to Tmu as he setteth in the Land of Life.

The Osiris *N* ; he saith :—

Adoration to Tmu as he setteth in the Land of Life.

The Osiris *N* ; he saith, adoring Tmu, when setting in the Land of Life and shedding his rays on the Tuat ;

Hail to thee setting in the Land of Life, O Father of the gods, thou art united to thy mother in Manu. Her two hands receive thee daily. Thy Majesty hath part in the house of Sokaru. Exult thou because the doors are opened of the Horizon, at thy setting in the Mountain of the West.

Thy rays, they run over the earth to enlighten the dwellers in Amenta. Those who are in the Tuat worship thee with loud acclaim, and cherish hope when they see thee daily.

Thou grantest to the gods to sit upon the earth ; to those, namely, who follow thee and come in thy train.

O august Soul, who begettest the gods, and dost invest them with thine attributes ; the Unknowable, the Ancient One, the Mighty in thy mystery.

Be thy fair face propitious to the Osiris *N*, oh Chepera, Father of the gods (19).

Freedom for ever from perdition is derived through this Book, and upon it I take my firm stand.

He hath written it who spake it, and his heart resteth on the reward.

Let there be given me armfuls of bread and drink, and let me be accompanied by this Book after my life.

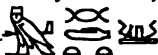
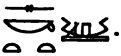
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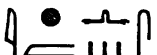
The fifteenth chapter as it stands in the later recension (represented by the Turin *Todtenbuch*) is of very recent origin. It is in fact a collection of texts originally independent of each other ; (1) a hymn to Râ at his rising, (2) a litany, (3) a hymn to Râ at his setting, (4) a hymn to Tmu at his setting, followed by a statement respecting the spiritual importance of the document.

Of the last hymn there are no copies of ancient date, but the other three compositions are found more or less perfect as far back as the nineteenth dynasty. The discrepancies, however, between the ancient texts furnish so much evidence of free composition on the part of the scribes, that it is impossible to suppose that they had before them documents recognised as sacred and canonical. M. Naville has found it necessary to publish four different forms of the hymn to the rising, and three of the hymn to the setting sun. The ideas and expressions throughout these hymns are current in the religious texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

In the translation here given I have followed the *form* adopted by the later recension, correcting the text when necessary by the copies written in the better periods.

1. The text of the Papyrus of Ani has been taken as the basis of the translation of HYMN I. It is the only ancient text which gives the hymn in the form subsequently acknowledged as canonical.

2. The sun was represented from the earliest period, as we may see in the pyramid texts, as performing his celestial journey in a boat, which during the morning was called the *Māātīt*  and in the evening the *Sektit* .

3. The stars which *set* were called the  *āhmiu uretu*. The stars which never set, but are always above the horizon were called  *āhmiu seku*. The word *āhmiu* has often been taken for a mere negative, but it occurs by itself with the sign of *stars* as a determinative . And the whole term is written  (*Denkm.* III, 271 d twice).

As one of the meanings of  *hem* is *minuere*, and as the ordinary meaning of the Demotic  is "small," like the Coptic  = *λεπτός*, it is not improbable that the stars received this appellation on account of their tiny size as compared with the Sun and Moon. They were what Horace called the "*ignes minores*."

The Sun and Moon, as we all know, are called in Gen. i, 16, the "Two Great Lights."

4. Both the Eastern and the Western horizon are mentioned in this chapter, but "Horus of the Two Horizons," has no reference to this distinction. Whatever the Sun passes through or over is always conceived as double. The *Two Earths* imply simply the Earth as divided by the passage of the Sun above it. It is to M. Grébaut that we are indebted for the discovery of this important key to many Egyptian expressions.

5.  *heper*, like the German *Werden*, has primarily the sense of *turning*, hence of *becoming*. It never has the sense of *creating*.  *heper t'esef* is the equivalent of the Greek *αὐτογενής*, and like that word is sometimes used for spontaneous productions of the mineral kingdom, as salt or natron as contrasted with artificial products of the same nature. It cannot be used for plants, as they have an origin in something external to themselves.

6. *The Land of the Gods* and *Punit* are the countries lying of Egypt. When it is said that gods 'come from Punit,' it is not meant by this that they are of Arabian origin, but simply that Sun, Moon, and Stars, and Daylight rise in the East. "Ex oriente Lux."

7. In many places the divine name Nut has for determinative the sign . Is this an oversight on the part of the scribe, or is it one more proof that the Egyptians certainly believed in a sky below the horizon? If so, I have never seen it misplaced.

8. The Ant and the Abtu are sometimes represented by the side of the solar bark. From the egg of the Abtu there rises the great Cat, the Sun. It is, as M. Loret has proved, the *Tortoise* of the Nile

As  *abtu*, 'the month' is phonetically homonymous with

 *abtu*, the Tortoise, and that the latter is characterised by , , 'its rotation, revolving or turning,'

the word *abtu*, whether applied to 'month' or 'tortoise' clearly signifies 'the revolving one.' Our modern words Tortoise, Tortue, Tortuga, rather express the turning or twisting of the creature's feet. In some texts, e.g., the inscriptions of Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 36, line 22, and at the beginning of the Ani

Papyrus, the word is written  *abtu*. In the later part of the Ani Papyrus it is written with the initial .

9. The Look-out on the bow, in Egyptian , or more fully  *nefrit*, is written  in the Papyrus of Ani. This interesting variant is of extreme value. It not only explains a word, the very existence of which has been called in question, but tells us the Egyptian name for that seat of Horus at the prow of the Solar Bark about which I wrote a note in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* of Nov. 3, 1891. See the plates attached to the note, and the corresponding vignettes in *Todtenbuch*, Pl. VI and IX.

10. The Litany here translated is that of the Turin *Todtenbuch*. It is found, but in a very mutilated condition in the Papyrus of Nechtuamon at Berlin (*Ba*), a manuscript of the XIXth dynasty.

Another Litany, preceding HYMN I, is found in the Papyrus of Ani. It is addressed to "Osiris, the everlasting Lord, Unneferu, Horus of the Two Horizons, of many forms and mighty of attributes

Ptah Sakru, Tmu in Heliopolis, Lord of the Unseen World, who hath built up Memphis and its gods."

"Hail to thee, Chabasû * in Heliopolis, Hammemit in Cher-âban, and Unta † more potent than the unseen gods in Heliopolis.

Hail to thee, An in An . . . Horus in the Two Horizons, who extendeth his steps and traverseth the Heaven ; he is Horchuta ;

Hail to thee, eternal Soul, Soul which is in Tattu, Unneferu, Son of Nut ; he is Lord of Acherta ;

Hail to thee, as thou reignest in Tattu, the royal crown is fixed upon thy brow. Thou art the Only One, the author of his own attributes, thou retest in Tattu ;

Hail to thee, Lord of Heracleopolis, for whom the Bark of Sokru is placed upon its sledge ; who repellst the Sebau, the doers of wrong ; and who putteth the *Ut'at* into its place ;

Hail to thee, Potent One, at thine appointed moment, Most Mighty One, Prince of An-arr-ef, Eternal Lord, author of eternity, Thou art the Lord of Suten-henen ;

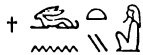
Hail to thee, who retest upon Maât ; Thou art the Lord of Abydos, thy limbs reach to Ta-tsert ; Thou art he who abominatest wrong ;

Hail to thee, in the midst of thy Bark, who bringest the Nile from his fountain ; upon whose dead body the light shineth ; he is the One who is in Nechen ;

Hail to thee, author of the gods, King of North and South, Osiris, the triumphant one, possessing the entire universe in his beneficent alternations ; He is the Lord of the Universe ;

Grant me passage in peace. I am righteous, I speak not falsehood knowingly, I am not guilty of duplicity."

* Both *Chabasû* and *Hammemit* have the sign of the plural, which may arise from the omission of *who art above* before the first of these words. Unfortunately we have no other copy to check the readings. But it is certain that the sign of plurality is often affixed to words which though in plural form (like the *Lat i: moenia, literæ, tenebræ*) have a singular meaning. *Chabasû* means a *lamp*, and the stars, especially the decans, were called by this appellation. *Hammemit* the name given to those yet unborn.

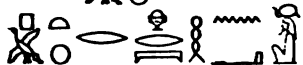


† *Un-tà*, signifies the god who assumes the face or form of

Hare , just as *Mau-tà* signifies the god with the face or form of a *C* 
Tēhuta, the god with the head or form of an Ibis.

11.  'the Land of Life,' one of the names given to the realm of Osiris after death, is not, as far as I can discover, mentioned anywhere in the earlier MSS. of the Book of the Dead.

Instead of "resting in the Land of Life," the older texts have  'in Amenta' or  'in life in Amenta,' or as 'one living, in Amenta.'

12. . The word  *pat* implies going *round* like a wheel or in a circle;  'going round on high with the Sun.' Hence the use of it as synonymous with , in the expressions  =  'never' and  =  'the first time, the beginning of time, *prima vice*.' A sacrificial cake is called  (*Denkm.*, II, 28) on account of its shape, like the Latin *rotundula*, also written .

And, like the Greek κύκλος, the word comes to signify a circle of persons. This circle is not necessarily of gods. The Bremner Papyrus in the British Museum (14, line 8), says an *apage* not only to *Āpepi*, who was no god, and to his soul and body, and ghost and shadow and children, and to his kith and kin, but, also, to his , that is all associated with him, "*ceux de son entourage*."

That  should express the 'feast of the New Moon' is only natural, though Lepsius has pointed out serious difficulties on the subject.

But  also expresses the number nine. Whence in this relation arises the Egyptian conception of the number nine? Is it the *round* (we should say the 'square') number, three times three? It certainly is merely a round number in many instances, but what is still more certain is that the same expression meaning 'circle of gods' and 'nine gods,' the circle was supposed to consist of nine gods, and was enlarged to companies of eighteen or twenty-seven. It is, I am sure, perfectly idle work to look for more profound reasons for the

theory of the 'Ennead.* Every god of importance had his † and the best theory that has ever been given is that given at the beginning of Chapter XVII.

13. The Turin text seems better adapted for the basis of a translation of HYMN II than the older papyri. These have been used for checking the later text whenever possible.

14. A difficult passage, but the readings are unanimous. What is ? Brugsch translates it "the Talisman of the Earth," and Pierret "le salut de la terre." No objection can be raised against the truth of either of these meanings taken by itself. But we have to look at the entire context. The expression literally signifies "the back of the earth." In Latin we say *sinus, gremium and viscera terrae*. The Egyptians themselves talk of the back of Seb,   , out of which the plants grow, and in a place quoted by Duemichen (*Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 92, note)   *ta* the *Earth*, is substituted for Seb. I believe then that  is best translated by *Soil of the Earth*.

15. Thy mother Isis. So *Ba*. The Turin text has Nut, which is inconsistent with what follows.

16. *La* gives Tatunen; *Af*, Tunen; the Turin recension Tanen, names belonging to the god also called Ptah, Sokru and Osiris. See the inscriptions in Mariette's *Abydos*, I, pl. 16, 6, on the Tat figures.

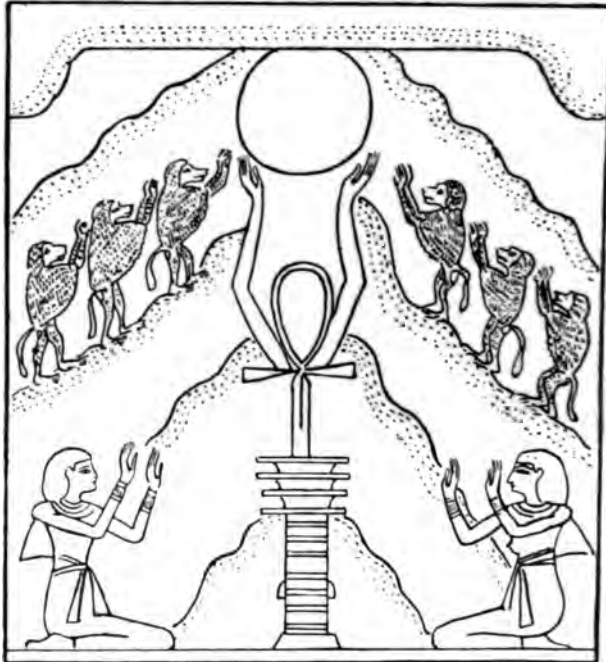
Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, seems to be here addressed.

17. This rubric does not occur in the older MSS.

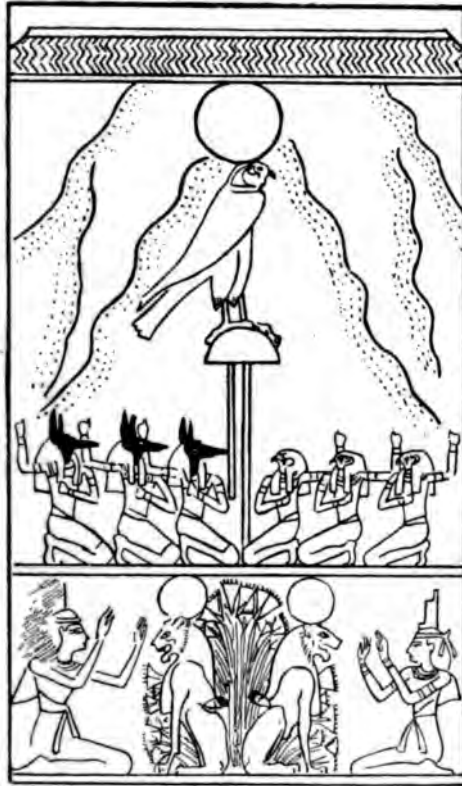
18. This hymn has not yet been found in the older MSS. A text carefully corrected from the papyri of the Louvre will be found in M. Lefébure's *Traduction comparée des Hymnes au Soleil composant le XV^e chapitre du Rituel Funéraire Égyptien*. Paris, 1868.

* I am deeply grieved that in my conversation and correspondence with Goodwin (see my *Miscellaneous Notes on Egyptian Philology*, p. 15), I hit upon 'Ennead' as a translation of . Goodwin took it up, and it has since been productive of much mischief. The word in itself (like Triad), is perfectly innocent and correct, yet every word has its 'cycle' of associations, and some of them lead the unwary astray. I had just been lecturing on Plotinus when Goodwin asked me for the word.

† The four children of Horus are called (*Tempelins.*, I, 41; 1)    
 .



A.—The Rising Sun.



B.— The Setting Sun.

19. 'Chepera, father of the gods.' Expressions like this are liable to be misunderstood by superficial readers. They are not meant to imply that 'father of the gods' was the special attribute of Chepera. 'Father of the gods' is predicated in Chapter VIII of Sutu, and it is predicated elsewhere of many other divinities. As in mathematics *any* point in space may be conceived as the origin of a given line or surface, so in Egyptian mythology any god may be rightly called the father of the gods. And for the same reason. The Day precedes the Night, but not more truly than Night precedes, or in mythological language *gives birth to* Day. But we may begin at Daybreak, or at Noon, or at Sunset, or with the Sun or the Moon, or with the rising of the Nile or any other natural phenomenon which obeys an evidently permanent fixed Law.

CHAPTER XVI.

NOTE.

When Iepsius divided the *Todtenbuch* into 165 chapters, that portion of it which was numbered as Chapter 16, was in fact merely the Vignette of Chapter 15.

It has been thought well to publish with this translation the Vignettes from the great Papyrus *La* of Leyden, representing *a*, the Rising; and *b*, the Setting Sun. (*See plates.*)

In *a* the Sun is represented as rising into Heaven, saluted by the six Cynocephalous Apes. He is also saluted by two goddesses kneeling. In the Papyrus of Hunefer these goddesses say, "I am thy sister Isis," "I am thy sister Nephthys." The *Tat*  which is between them is a symbol *both* of Osiris and of the East, and in *Ba* is replaced by the sign . In the later periods the Dawn was

represented by the sign  consisting of the Sun rising out of the East, between Isis and Nephthys. The sign of Life  *anh* (which primarily means *rise up*) rises out of the *Tat*, and with hands proceeding from it raised up the Sun.

In *b* the central object is the Sun setting in the West . He is saluted by three hawk-headed and by three jackal-headed divinities, the Spirits of Pe and of Nechen. Below this scene the Sun of Yesterday and the Sun of To-day in lion forms are saluted by Isis and Nephthys.

A PHœNICIAN MONUMENT AT THE FRONTIER OF PALESTINE.

BY PROF. DR. AUG. EISENLOHR.

When, August 1889, I inspected the newly opened highly interesting gallery of antiquities from *Anterior Asia* (Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Alterthümer) in the New Museum at Berlin, I was deeply struck by the so called Hittite Monuments of Boghaskioi in Cappadocia, which K. Humann brought home, in wonderful plaster casts, from his brilliant expedition to Asia Minor in 1882. Long time I stood before a relief, whose description I quote from the catalogue: G. 49 Relief Gipsabguss. H. 2, 60 m. "Fünf, theils auf Tieren, theils auf Menschen stehende Figuren. Links zunächst eine männliche Gestalt (nach rechts) mit spitzer Kopfbedeckung, wohl der König; sie tritt auf den Nacken zweier gebeugter Männer mit spitzen Kopfbedeckungen. Auf sie schreiten vier Götter zu; der erste auf einem Löwen, der zweite auf einem Hunde (?), die beiden letzten auf einem Doppeladler. Sie halten Keulen und Scepter und tragen sämtlich in der vorgestreckten Hand eine Gruppe von hethitischen Hieroglyphen. Original am Felsen bei Boghaskioi."

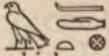
The aspect of this relief, which you find copied in Texier's *Description de l'Asie mineure*, I, pl. 78, in Perrot and Guillaume, *Expl. archéol. de la Galatie et de Bithynie*, T. II, Pl. 38, Hommel, *Gesch. Assyriens und Babylonien's*, G. Hirschfeld, *Die Felsenreliefs in Kleinasien*, *Abhandlg. der Berl. Akademie*, 1886, II, S. 24, and K. Humann und Otto Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien u. Nordsyrien*, Taf. X, reminded me of another monument I had seen and copied about twenty years ago on a travel through Palestine and the Phœnician coast. After having visited Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, I went in ship to Beyrout, from there to Ba'albek, Damascus and back to Beyrout; from there to Akka, Nazareth, Tiberias and Safed. From Safed over Tibnin to Tyre, and along the Phœnician coast over Saïda again to Beyrout.

On the morning of 14th April, 1870, we left Safed and went over Yârûn and Bint Djebel to Tibnin, where we quartered in the al-B

doned castle of a Turkish Paschah, who has been called to Damascus, probably to be strangled there. Peaceably we slept in his hareem. Next morning, on our way to Tyre, we went first astray, looked down in a deep ravine (probably the Wadi el-ma), which we did not enter before its junction with another wadi to the Wadi Ashur. Not far from here, high on the right bank of the torrent, is situated the little village of Mesra'ah. From Murray's *Handbook for Travelers in Syria and Palestine*, which I took with me, I learnt that in the neighbourhood might be seen an Egyptian tablet, which the Hon. Roden Noel examined in 1860 (Murray, *Syr. and Pal.*, II, p. 417, 1868). He says, "I found it" (the rock tablet) "to be Egyptian. It is much defaced. But the Agathodaemon over the whole group is unmistakeable; there is disk, uræus, and wings. The king (or god) is seated on an Egyptian throne, and figures are presenting offerings; but they are nearly erased. Their slender Egyptian type and their head-dresses leave no doubt of their race" (*Vacation Tourists*, 1860). A long time we searched for this monument in vain in the caverns of the acclivity, till we found it much deeper than we expected. I give it here after the drawing I took on the spot, wishing it may soon be photographed by some Palestine explorer, as my copy is true, but rather rapidly taken. Years after my journey, I found a mention of the same sculpture in Renan's *Mission en Phénicie*, 1864, p. 640: "Dans le Ouadi Aschour, à un quart d'heure à peu près de Cana, se voit la plus importante sculpture sur le roc qu'il y ait dans le pays de Tyr. (Monro est le premier qui l'ait vue (1833). M. de Saulcy l'a visitée à son second voyage (1864). Robinson ne la vit pas*). C'est une cella ou niche carrée dans le roc, située au dessous d'une grande caverne taillée elle-même dans la paroi de la vallée. Le fond de la niche est tout entier occupé par une sculpture dont l'apparence est égyptienne. Les coiffures, surtout celle du personnage principal assis, sont tout à fait celles de l'Égypte et fort analogues au *pschent*. Comme toutes les sculptures égypto-phéniciennes, la sculpture de Ouadi Aschour a pour couronnement le globe ailé. Tout cela rappelle beaucoup la porte égypto-phénicienne d'Oum el-Awamid. Malheureusement, la sculpture est en très mauvais état. Elle sert depuis des siècles de

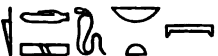
* La description de Monro (*Summer Ramble*, London, 1835, Vol. II, p. 23, in Ritter, *Geographie*, XVI, p. 794; celle de M. de Saulcy, *Deuxième Voyage*, 2 vols., Paris, 1865, II, p. 276, 277. Monro gives to the niche about three feet on each side.

cible aux métualis qui traversent la vallée, et qui, en haine de l'idolâtrie, se croient obligés d'y envoyer un coup de fusil. Je la fis mouler par Taddei, pendant son séjour à Kabr-Hiram. Ce moulage a été mouillé dans le transport des objets de la mission en France, et l'on n'y peut rien reconnaître. Je le regrette vivement, car le monument de Ouadi Aschour est peut-être celui où les égyptologues liront le plus clairement, même en l'absence d'hieroglyphes, l'histoire de l'an égyptien en Phénicie. On sait, du reste, combien ces médaillons ou *cellae* taillés dans le roc sont communs en Perse: c'était la une des données du viel art asiatique. La caverne située au dessus de la riche sculptée a des sièges, des gradins."

We cannot doubt that the monument which has been seen and described by Monro, de Saulcy and Renan, and noted in Renan's map as *basrelief*, is the same as the one I now submit. Methinks what Renan, p. 640, wrote about a similar monument at Kana with four figures refers to the same. Let us now examine more closely our monument. On the top we see the ailed sun disk with two crowned serpents so often on Egyptian monuments, especially at Edfou, for instance over the entrance of the temple and on the lintel over the door of the new year chapel. It is the emblem of , Hor-hut, or Hor-behet, as Brugsch reads the last group, which we find not rarely outwards of Egypt, not only on the Egyptian tablets of the Nahr el Kelb (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 197), but also at Gebal (Byblos) at the Phœnician coast (see Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. XXXII, 6, 7). Below this emblem we recognize four figures in two groups, two on the left side and two on the right. One of the left group is sitting, the three others standing; all are on pedestals, the sitting on a kind of throne, the two exteriors standing on a sort of footstool, and only the first on right on an animal probably without head. The standing on animals we see on several figures of the spoken-of relief of Bokhazkioï (Iasilikaja). K. Humann in a much clever remark in the text of his book (p. 61, 2) says, that it is a peculiarity of the culture of anterior Asia to represent the deities standing on the animals consecrated to them. The standing figure at the left has a peculiar head-dress, a kind of cap with a top knot, from which droops a long string with a ring in the middle. In the right hand he holds a weapon. Over the head of the sitting figure a sign , which resembles the Hittite hieroglyph , perhaps the *γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα*, which Herodotus, II.

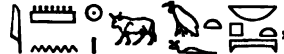
106, mentions as being on the columns of Sesostris in Syrian Palestine. Before the sitting figure saw Monro an altar on a table. The personage standing on the animal holds in the right hand a bouquet of flowers or perhaps a lamp, over her head the disk of the sun or the moon.

In the collections of antiquities there are some monuments which show a certain likeness with our *basrelief*. So reproduces Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, Vol. III, p. 413, fig. 283, a stele of Amrit on the Phœnician coast from the collection of M. de Perétie. Here we see a man with the Egyptian crown *atef*, standing on a lion, in his hand a young lion or a hare. On the top the circle of moon. Nearer to our monument are three very similar stelæ, one in the Turin Museum, the other in the British, and the third in the Louvre. They are mentioned by Humann, p. 61, 2. The Turin stele is described by Orcurti in the old catalogue of the Turin Museum, Vol. II (1855), p. 39, No. 60, not without mentioning the similar monuments of London and Paris. As M. Lanzone in his *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, 4. dispensa (Torino, 1884), Pl. CLXXXXXI and CLXXXXXII, gives not only the Turin stele, but also that of London, which we find in Sharpe, *Egyptian Antiquities*, 1862, p. 70, and in Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, new edition, 1878, Vol. III, p. 234, we can refer to Lanzone's illustration. The

upper part of the Turin stele shows the goddess  *Kadesh, lady of heaven, governess*


of all gods, the eye of Ra, there exists no second to her, entirely naked, standing on a lion. She wears the hair in curls like some Hathors (as in Naville's *Bubastis*, Pl. IX, XXIII). On the head she has a vessel, and in it the moon crescent. With the extended right

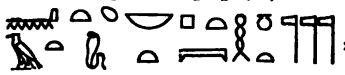
hand she offers a bouquet of lotus to god Chem-amon 

, the bull of his mother, lord of heaven, who raises the whip with his right arm; behind him a naos with flowers. With the extended left hand the goddess gives a spear and a serpent to god Reşpu, not Renpu, as has been read before by Orcurti, Birch, and Lanzone (Catalogo, p. 167, No. 1601), who is called great god, lord of the heaven, chief of the circle of gods, lord of eternity. This god wears a tiara not unlike the Egyptian white crown (*het*), with a tie out of which emerges the head of an antelope. He has a necklace like an Egyptian king.

With his right hand he grasps the offered spear, while in his left he carries a slaughter-knife. The representation of this god in the monuments of Paris and London is nearly the same. But instead of the name of the goddess Kadesh, we find in London  which has been read *Kun*; but I suppose we ought to read *Kelt* as a synonym of *Kadeš*. I believe that the goddess Kadesh is another name for Astarte (hebr. אֲשֶׁרָה), who played such a prominent rôle in Phœnicia, from whence she was introduced in Palestine. The cult of that goddess of voluptuousness together with the cult of Baal entered even the temple of Jerusalem, wherefrom it was removed on King Josiah's order by the high priest Hilkia (2 Kings, xxiii, 4). The name Kadesh  is probably in connection with the hebraic word קִדְשׁ for a whore, and has nothing to do with קָדֵשׁ, to be holy and holiness. The same goddess had also the names of Mylitta, Cœlestis, etc. That she was also a goddess of war, prove not only the Phœnician coins, which represent her with a spear in the right hand (Movers, *Phœnisier*, I, S. 634), but equally the Turin stele, on which she hands a spear to the god *Rešup*.

The god *Rešpu* (  *rešpu*) is the Phœnician god of war, which you see represented with all his attributes and weapons, standing and sitting, Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, III, 10 p. 234, and Lanzzone, *Dis. Tav.*, CLXXXII, 2. In Phœnician and Cypriote inscriptions he is found as רֶשֶׁפְּ הַיָּזְרֵז *rešep khês* (*Corpus Insc. Sem.*, I, i, p. 36, No. 10), the arrow-god, and רֶשֶׁפְּ מַכַּל *rešep makal* (*ib.*, I, i, p. 105, Nos. 89-92), corresponding to the Greek Apollôn Amyklaïos (*cf.* Pietchmann, *Phœnicien*, p. 151; *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1886, Dec., p. 48). After Oppert, he figures also on cuneiform signs, together with Set and Hor (*Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Ins.*, 4 ser., XI, p. 180-184). That his service was introduced in Egypt we see from the altar of Nekthorheb in the Turin Museum (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, III, p. 429, 67, and Plate), where he is worshipped as   *rešep em hat rešep*. The Hebrew word רֶשֶׁף, flame, fulgur, is probably in connection with the name of the god. In the long inscription of the fifth year of Rameses II

at Medinet Haboo, l. 25 alludes to the impetuosity of the god Reshpu.

In its lower compartment the above cited stele of the British Museum (Lanzone, *Tav.*, CLXXXXII, 2; Sharpe, *Antiq.*, p. 70), shows an offering to the goddess Anta, , who is equally in warlike costume with the same weapons as god Rešpu. She is sitting and wears the Egyptian crown *atef* .

If we endeavour to identify the deities represented in the stele of Mesra'ah with the deities of the compared Turin and London monuments, we must probably take the person sitting at the left for *Anta*, inasmuch as the description of Renan gives her a *pshent*, which I did not recognize; the standing figure behind her would be the god Rešep, with his warlike attire and weapon; on the right the first person standing on the animal would be Astaroth or Kadesh, and behind her a king or an inferior god.

I shall be glad if my article would engage one of the many amateur photographers who are working in Palestine, or one of the Palestine explorers, to furnish us with an accurate proof of the described monument. I cannot close my paper without mentioning another impression I received on the same day of my journey. On that behalf I extract my travelling journal:—

"We left Kana on the height of the mountain. Near Hanaueh, tomb of Hiram. Already at the left down near the village big square stones, which let suppose a town. I presume such one at the hill at right behind the tomb of Hiram. At the right and the left of the road are tombs. There was the cemetery of a town. I suppose that was laying here the old Tyre (Palæotyrus)." Approaching to Hiram's tomb I had seen on my right side a broad road going upwards to the hill, with natural or probably artificial pavement, perhaps the way to the ancient acropolis. I would perhaps be not so affirmative in my supposition to have found Palæotyrus on that spot, if I had not afterwards found in Renan's *Mission de Phénicie*, which I did not know at that time, p. 605-607, a passage which is in full congruity with my own observations. Let speak Renan himself: "Quant on continue à suivre la route de Sour à Kana, à environ un quart d'heure de marche". (de Kabr-Hiram) "à gauche de la route et en face du village moderne de Hanaweh, on trouve une des localités antiques les plus curieuses de

la Phénicie. C'est une sorte d'acropole ou plutôt du roc taillé avec une ampleur qui surprend. Des blocs gigantesques se voient de tous les côtés. . . . Tout le style de cette localité a quelque chose de massif, d'informe, de monolithique, qu'on peut rattacher au vieux style chanaéen, si l'on appelle de ce nom les restes qui commencent aux environs de Sour et couvrent toute l'ancienne tribu d'Aser. . . . Peut-on assigner un nom à cette localité, qui fut évidemment importante? C'eux qui pensent que **עִיר מְבִצֵּר צֵר** ou **עִיר מְבִצֵּר צֵר** de Jos. xix, 29, et 2 Sam. xxiv, 7, n'est pas l'île de Tyr, mais bien une Tyr continentale, peuvent avec raison l'identifier avec notre localité. Notre localité était indubitablement une dépendance de Tyr, un **מְבִצֵּר** (acropole fortifiée) . . . Pourrait-on songer à placer là Palétyr? (Renan denies that). . . . Cependant placer vers notre localité le Palétyr qui, lors de l'invasion de Salmanazar, abandonna sa métropole et se soumit aux conquérants, serait une hypothèse assez séduisante . . .

The short notice of Strabon : *μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τύρον ἡ Παλαιτύρος ἐν τριάκοντα σταδίοις*, does prove nothing for a more southern direction and a situation near the coast. Still the 30 stadia = 5, 5 Km. are somewhat inferior to the real distance between Tyrus and our supposed Palæotyrus. It would be a good task for an explorer to search by excavations in the neighbourhood of the spot for further proofs of our identification.



THE MYTH OF OSIRIS AND ISIS.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD, JNR.

The newly discovered *Apology of Aristides*, edited by Professor Rendell Harris, contains in paragraph 12 a remarkable reference to the myth of Isis and Osiris, upon which important evidence has recently been obtained from the researches of Egyptologists. It is possible that the statement of Aristides may have been derived by him directly from the treatise by Plutarch upon Isis and Osiris, but as Aristides uses the plural "they say" (*i.e.*, the Egyptians), and further refers to some practices of Egyptian worship not appertaining to Plutarch's work, it is probable that he obtained his knowledge from some author who had also been perused by Plutarch. That this writer possessed genuine Egyptian authority for his account of the adventures of Isis in Syria we now know.

The extract from the *Apology* is as follows :—

"For of old time they worshipped Isis, and they say forsooth she is a goddess, who had a husband Osiris, her brother; but when Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, Isis fled with her son Horus to Byblos in Syria, and was there for a certain time until that her son was grown."

Many years ago, Messrs. Pleyte and Rossi published a papyrus at Turin containing a description of the biting of Ra (the sun-god), a form of Osiris, himself the father of Horus, by a serpent, and it has been completely translated by M. Lefébure, under the title of *Un chapitre de la Chronique Solaire*.* Subsequently the late M. Chabas signalled a fragment in an hieratic papyrus at Leyden containing magic formulæ, which was related apparently to the Isis and Osiris myth popularised by Plutarch, for one of the incantations was recited by Isis with the object of curing Horus from a serpent's

* Mr. Renouf read a paper on this story entitled, The Eclipse in Egyptian Texts, printed in the *Proceedings*, June, 1885 (Vol. VII, p. 163, &c.). Mr. Renouf tells me that Prof. Sayce showed him an *ostrakon*, belonging to All Souls' College, Oxford, upon which Mr. Renouf recognized this same text written in the hieratic character.—W.H.R.

venom; and later on M. Chabas again found an allusion to the same story in the Harris Magic Papyrus.

Much more information was however forthcoming from a monumental text known as the Metternich Stela, which has been translated by M. Golenischeff, which really is a long incantation against venomous attacks, for it tells us, among other items, that it was immediately after the birth of Horus that he was stung by a scorpion and bitten by a serpent. But although these and other evidences from Egyptian literature show how common this story was there, no evidence was yet forthcoming indicating where Isis and Horus were situated when the event occurred.

However, in 1881, M. Revillout described a demotic papyrus at Leyden which whilst giving details analogous to the Metternich Stela, and thus amplifying the Isis and Horus myth, also agrees distinctly with Plutarch and Aristides in placing the scene of the serpent's attack in Syria. In this text we are introduced to Isis arranging with Horus to return to Egypt, his father Osiris having been legitimate king, and Horus therefore entitled to the kingdom; but when Horus should have set out, he began to weep and cry for Isis, because a serpent had stung him. Isis heard his cries, came and consoled her child, and showed him a cure for the bite; and her recipe has taken its place among the medico-magic formulæ to be used for curing the bites of serpents in ancient Egypt.

Since the date when M. Chabas wrote upon the subject of this myth, it has become doubtful whether the Egyptians believed it to have occurred in a mythical period of their history, or whether it only formed part of the adventures of Osiris, the nocturnal sun god, during his passage through the twelve regions corresponding to the twelve hours of the night: M. Maspero having shown that the sun was supposed after disappearing behind the western hills to travel northward up a valley parallel with that of the Nile, and then passing around to the north of Egypt from west to east; moving thus eastward across Phœnicia, to reappear in the morning above the mountains on the eastern side of Egypt. On this journey Byblos was at one time one of the stages. During this nocturnal period Osiris died, was re-born as Horus to reappear as the rising sun in

the morning. Byblos * would therefore be one of the later stages on the route, hence a suitable site for adventures appertaining to the young Horus, who, person'fying the sun, in a few hours more, continuing his great semicircular journey from west to east, would reappear full grown as the glorious orb of an Egyptian dawn.

Anyway this proof that Aristides in writing his *Apology for Christianity* made it his business to accurately ascertain the true tenets of the pagan cults he condemned, is an interesting fact in the history of Apologetics.

* Byblos was well known to the Egyptians from early times. A recipe in the great medical papyrus was said by it to have been invented by a practitioner of Byblos.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 14th June, 1892, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

P. LE PAGE RENOUF (*President*).—The Egyptian Book of the Dead. Translation, with commentary, of the Seventeenth Chapter.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1891-92.

Eighth (extra) Meeting, 14th June, 1892.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—J. Lieblein, Hieroglyphisches namen-wörterbuch. IV Lieferung. Leipzig. 8vo. 1892.

From the Author:—A. H. Kellogg. Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt.

From the Author:—Professor Von Edward Sachau. Zur historischen Geographie von Nordsyrien.

From the Author:—Dr. Cyrus Adler.

Progress of Oriental Science in America during 1888.

Report on the Section of Oriental Antiquities in the U.S. National Museum. 1888.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. *Degli Hittim o
Hethei e delle loro migrazioni*, Chap. XIX, XX.

Estratto dalla *Civiltà Cattolica*, Serie XV. Vol. II. 1892.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 3rd May, 1892, and elected Members of the Society:—

Boris Touraëff, Wassily Ostrow, 7^{me} ligne. No. 40, Quartier No. 8, St. Petersburg.

Albert Fleming, Loughrig, Ambleside, and Gray's Inn, W.C.

Mrs. Tirard, 28, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W.

The following were nominated, and this being the last meeting of the session, were by special order of the Council submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. Charles Harris, M.A., Milton next Sittingbourne, Kent.

H. G. Lyons, Lieut. R.E., Wâdy Halfa, Upper Egypt.



A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*) in continuation of his former Papers on the Egyptian Book of the Dead. A Translation with commentary (continuation) of the XVIIth Chapter.

Remarks were added by the Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. George Thorpe, F.S.A., Mr. J. Offord, the Rev. J. Hunt Cooke, and the President.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER XVII.

*Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day out of the Netherworld.**Let the words be said :***I am he who closeth and he who openeth, and I am but One (1).****I am Râ at his first appearance.****I am the great god, self-produced ;****His Names together compose the cycle of the gods ;****Resistless is he among the gods (2).****I who am Osiris, am Yesterday and the kinsman of the Morrow (3).****A scene of strife arose among the gods when I gave the command (4).****Amenta is the scene of strife among the gods.****I know the name of the great god who is here.****Herald * of Râ is his name.****I am the great Heron who is in Heliopolis, who presideth over the account of whatsoever is and of that which cometh into being (5).****Who is that? It is Osiris who presideth over the account of all that is and all that cometh into being, that is Endless Time and Eternity. Endless Time is Day and Eternity is Night.****I am Amsu in his manifestations ; there have been given to me the Two Feathers upon my head (6).****Who is that, and what are his Feathers? It is Horus, the avenger of his father, and the Two Feathers are the Uræi upon the forehead of his father Tmu (7).****I have alighted upon my Land, and I come from my own Place.****What is that? It is the Horison of my father Tmu.****All defects are done away, all deficiencies are removed, and all that was wrong in me is cast forth.****I am purified at the two great and mighty Lakes at Sutenhunem, which purify the offerings which living men present to the great god who is there (8).****Who is that? It is Râ himself.**•  , *præconium, præco.*

Which are the two great and mighty Lakes? The Lake of Natron and the Lake of Mâât 9).

I advance over the roads, which I know, and my face is on the Land of Mâât.

What is that? The road upon which father Tmu advanceth, when he goeth to the Field of Aarru, approaching to the land of Spirits in Heaven.

I come forth through the T'eser gate.

What is that? This gate of the gods is Haukar. It is the gate and the two doors and openings, through which father Tmu issueth to the Eastern Horizon of Heaven (10).

O ye who have gone before! Let me grasp your hands, ye who become one of you.

Who are they? Those who have gone before are Hu and Sau. May I be with their father Tmu, throughout the course of each day (11).

I make full the Eye when it waxeth dim on the day of battle between the two Opponents (12).

What is that? The battle of the two Opponents is the day upon which Horus fighteth with Sut, when he slingeth his filth upon the face of Horus, and when Horus seizeth upon the genitals of Sut, for it is Horus who doeth this with his own fingers.

I lift up the hairy net from the Eye at the period of its distress (13).

What is that? The right Eye of Râ in the period of its distress when he giveth it free course, and it is Thoth who lifteth up the net from it.

I see Râ, when he is born from Yesterday, at the dugs of the Mehurit cows (14)? His course is my course, and conversely mine is his.

What is that? Râ and his births from Yesterday at the dugs of the Mehurit cows? It is the figure of the Eye of Râ, at his daily birth. And Mehurit is the Eye.

I am one of those who are in the train of Horus.

What is that—"one of those in the train of Horus"? Said with reference to whom his Lord loveth.

Hail, ye possessors of Mâât, divine Powers attached to Osiris, who deal destruction to falsehood, ye who are in the train of Hotepeschus, grant me that I may come to you. Do ye away the wrong which is me, as ye have done to the Seven Glorious ones, who follow after the Confined one, and whose places Anubis hath fixed on that day of "Come thou hither!"

Hotepeschus is the divine Flame which is assigned to Osiris for burning the souls of his adversaries. I know the names of the Seven Glorious ones who follow the Confined one, and whose places Anubis hath fixed on the day of "Come thou hither." The leader of this divine company,

'Anar-ef, the Great' is his name; 2. Kat-kat; 3. the Burning Bull, who liveth in his fire; 4. the Red-eyed one in the House of

Gauze; 5, Fieryface which turneth backwards; 6, Dark Face in its hour; 7, Seer in the Night (15).

I am he whose Soul resideth in a pair of gods.

It is Osiris, as he cometh to Tattu, and there findeth the soul of Râ; each embraceth the other, and becometh Two Souls.

The pair of gods are Horus, the Avenger of his Father, and Horus, the Prince of the City of Blindness.

I am the great Cat, who frequenteth the Persea tree in Heliopolis, on that night of battle wherein is effected the defeat of the Sebau, and that day upon which the adversaries of the Inviolable god (16) are exterminated.

Who is that great Cat? It is Râ himself. For Sau said, He is the likeness (Maâu) of that which he hath created, and his name became that of Cat (Maâu) (17).

The night of conflict is the defeat of the children of Failure at Elephantine. There was conflict in the entire universe, in heaven and upon the earth.

He who frequenteth the Persea tree is he who regulateth the children of Failure, and that which they do.

O Râ, in thine Egg, who risest up in thine orb, and shinest from thine Horizon, and swimmest over the firmament without a peer, and sailest over the sky; whose mouth sendeth forth breezes of flame, lightening up the Two Earths with thy glories, do thou deliver *N* from that god whose attributes are hidden, whose eyebrows are as the arms of the Balance upon that day when outrage is brought to account, and each wrong is tied up to its separate block of settlement.

The god whose eyebrows are as the arms of the Balance is "he who lifteth up his arm."*

Deliver me from those Wardens of the Passages with hurtful fingers, attendant upon Osiris.

The Wardens of Osiris are the Powers who keep off the forces of the adversaries of Râ.

May your knives not get hold of me; may I not fall into your shambles, for I know your names; my course upon earth is with Râ and my fair goal is with Osiris. Let not your offerings be in my disfavour, oh ye gods upon your altars! I am one of those who follow the Master, a keeper of the writ of Chepera.

I fly like a Hawk, I cackle like the *Smen*-Goose, I move eternally like *Nehebkau* (18).

* The god who lifteth up his arm is  Amsu.

Oh Tmu who art in the Great Dwelling, Sovereign of all the gods, deliver me from that god who liveth upon the damned ; whose face is that of a hound, but whose skin is that of a man ; at that angle of the pool of fire ; devouring shades, digesting human hearts and voiding ordure. One seeth him not.

This god whose face is that of a hound and whose skin* is that of a man: Eternal Devourer is his name (18).

Oh Fearful one, who art over the Two Earths, Red god who orderest the block of execution ; to whom is given the Double Crown and Enjoyment as Prince of Sutenhunem.

It is Osiris to whom was ordained the Leadership among the gods, upon that day when the Two Earths were united before the Inviolable god.

The junction of the Two Earths is the head of the coffin of Osiris [whose father is Râ†] the beneficent Soul in Sutenhunem, the giver of food and the destroyer of wrong, who hath determined the paths of eternity.

It is Râ himself.

Deliver me from that god who seizeth upon souls, who consumeth all filth and corruption in the darkness or in the light : all those who fear him are in powerless condition.

This god is Sut.

Oh Chepera, who are in the midst of thy bark and whose body is the cycle of the gods for ever ; deliver me from those inquisitorial Wardens to whom the Inviolable god, of Glorious Attributes, hath given guard over his adversaries, and the infliction of slaughter in the place of annihilation, from whose guard there is no escape. May I not fall under your knives, may I not sit within your dungeons, may I not come to your places of extermination, may I not fall into your pits ; may there be done to me none of those things which the gods abominate ; for I have passed through the place of purification in the middle of the Meskat, for which are given the Mesit and the Tehenit cakes in Tanenit.

The Meskat is the place of scourging in Sutenhunem, the Tehenit is the Eye of Horus Tanenit is the resting place of Osiris (20).

*  *ânem* 'skin,' according to Horhotep and the first coffin of Mentuhotep at Berlin. But the second coffin of Mentuhotep has already  *ânpu* 'eyebrows,' which afterwards becomes the received reading.

† An interpolation in the text of Horhotep.

Tmu buildeth thy dwelling, the Lion-faced god layeth the foundation of thy house, as he goeth his round. Horus offereth purification and Sut giveth might, and conversely.

I have come upon this earth and with my two feet taken possession. I am Tmu and I come from my own Place.

Back, oh Lion with dazzling mouth, and with head bent forwards, retreating before me and my might.

I am Isis and thou findest me as I drop upon my face the hair which falleth loosely on my brow.

I was conceived by Isis and begotten by Nephthys. Isis destroyeth what in me is wrong, and Nephthys loppeth off that which is rebellious.

Dread cometh in my train and Might is in my hands. Numberless are the hands who cling fast to me. The dead ones and the living come to me. I defeat the clients of mine adversaries, and spoil those whose hands are darkened.

I have made an agreeable alliance. I have created the inhabitants of Cher-âbat and those of Heliopolis (21). And every god is in fear before the Terrible, the Almighty one.

I avenge every god against his oppressor, at whom I shoot my arrows when he appeareth.

I live according to my will.

I am Uat'it, the Fiery one (22).

And woe to them who mount up against me!

What is this? "Of unknown attributes, which Hemen (23) hath given" is the name of the Funereal Chest. "The Witness of that which is lifted" is the name of the Shrine.

The Lion with dazzling mouth and with head bent forwards is the Phallus of Osiris [*otherwise* of Râ].

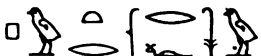
And I who drop the hair which hath loosely fallen upon my brow—I am Isis, when she concealeth herself; she hath let fall her hair over herself.

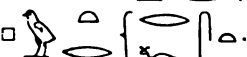
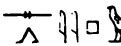
Uat'it the Fiery is the Eye of Râ.

They who mount up against me, woe to them, they are the associates of Sut as they approach (24).

NOTES.

The seventeenth chapter is one of the most remarkable in the whole collection, and it has been preserved from times previous to the twelfth dynasty. The very earliest monuments which have

preserved it have handed it down accompanied with scholia and other commentaries interpolated into the text. Some of the monuments enable us to some extent to divide the original text from the additions, in consequence of the latter being written in red. But there is really only one text where the additions are suppressed, and which therefore offers the most ancient form, as far as we know it, of the chapter. This is the copy on the wall of the tomb of Horhotep. The sarcophagus itself of Horhotep contains a copy of the text along with the additions. The chapter must already at the time have been of the most venerable antiquity. Besides these two copies of the chapter we have those from the sarcophagi of Hora and Sit-Bastit (published, like those of Horhotep, by M. Maspero*), two from the sarcophagi of Mentuhotep, and one from that of Sebek-ia (the three latter published by Lepsius in his *Älteste Texte*). The British Museum has Sir Gardner Wilkinson's copy of the texts inscribed on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep of the eleventh dynasty, and also a fragment (6636 a) of the coffin of a prince named Hornefru. Here then we have an abundance of witnesses of the best period. They unfortunately do not agree. The progress of corruption had no doubt begun long before, and the variants are not simply differences of orthography but positively different readings. The differences however are chiefly in the scholia. Even when the explanations of the text are identical, the form differs. The latest recensions have retained the form ; the ancient added

the feminine . *What is that?* But some of the ancient texts give the equivalent words , and Horhotep does without them altogether. These words were evidently additions not merely to the text but to the scholia.

The text of the chapter grew more and more obscure to readers, and the explanations hitherto given were so unsatisfactory as to call for others. The texts of the manuscripts of the new empire furnish a good deal of fresh matter, much of which is extremely ancient, though the proof of this is unfortunately lost through the disastrous condition of literature in the period preceding the eighteenth dynasty. The eighteenth dynasty and its immediate successors inherited but did not invent the new form of the Book of the Dead, with its succession of vignettes, which however differing in detail bear the

* *Mission archéologique Française au Caire*, II.

stamp of a common traditional teaching. The manuscripts of a later period bear witness, with reference to this as well as to other chapters, to a recension of an authoritative kind. The text becomes more certain though perhaps not either more true or more intelligible, and the notes and explanations have here reached their fullest extent.

It would take an entire volume to give the translations of all the forms the chapter has assumed. It must be sufficient here to give the earliest forms known to us of the text and of the first commentaries. These are printed in characters which show the difference between text and later additions; all of which, it must be remembered, are of extreme antiquity—some *two thousand years* before any probable date of Moses.

Explanations or other interesting matter occurring in the manuscripts of the later Empire will be referred to in the notes.

The title in the early copies is the simple one here heading the chapter. In those which begin at the eighteenth dynasty the title is very like that given for the first chapter. The chief additions are that the deceased person "*takes every form that he pleases, plays draughts, and sits in a bower, comes forth as a soul living after death, and that what is done upon earth is glorified.*"

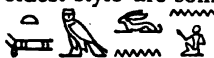
1. It would be difficult for us to imagine that the very remarkable opening of the chapter is an addition. Yet it is unknown to the primitive recension on the walls of Horhotep's tomb, though found everywhere else. The texts however which contain it do not agree. "I am He who closeth, and He who openeth, and I am but One." 'He who closeth' is  *Tmu*, 'He who openeth'  *Unen*. As the god who closes and who opens is one and the same, 'I am but One,' is a very natural ending of the sentence, and for its sense the whole may appeal to classical, and higher than classical, authority.

"Modo namque Patulcius idem

Et modo sacrificio Clusius ore vocor."*

"I am Alpha and O, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord."†

The meaning of the Egyptian is quite plain, but the readings most probably through the absence of determinatives in the oldest style are somewhat different. Horhotep and other texts have

, apparently as one word (compounded of *tmu*

* Ovid, *Fast*, I, 129, 130.

† Apocalypse i, 8.

and *unen*), which may signify the 'closer and opener,' but Sebek-âa and later texts have . The papyrus of Nebeni has , in the third person, which does not alter the meaning, but this is quite an isolated reading. The later recension, as represented by the Turin *Todtenbuch* and the Cadet papyrus, has , which only prominently brings forward, what is implied in all the other texts, that the Opener is a god.* The absence of the determinative  after  is no objection to the sense 'opener,' especially after . It is absolutely necessary when dealing with mythology to look to physical rather than to metaphysical meanings. I have sufficiently discussed the meanings of the word  in my essay on the Myth of Osiris Unnefer.

The later recensions add an interpolation (not without very different readings) to the effect that the Sun made his first appearance when Shu raised the Sky from the height of Chemennu, where he destroyed the 'Children of Failure' .

The raising of the Sky by Shu is very frequently represented in pictures. Seb (the Earth) and Nut (the Sky) have been sleeping in each other's arms during the night; Shu (Daylight at sunrise) parts them, and the sky is seen to be raised high above the earth.

 Shu, who is of course the son of Râ, is in consequence of this act called  *An-heru*, 'The Lifter up of the Heaven.'

Chemennu is the geographical name of the town called by the Greeks Hermopolis. The mystical Chemennu, however, is alone referred to in this place. The word itself means Eight, and Lepsius sees here a reference to eight elementary deities. (We must remember that the passage itself is an interpolation, of which there is no trace in the older texts.)

The 'children of *Failure*' (, , , , , , , , , , ,

vanish at the appearance of Day. This mythological expression here found in an interpolated passage is met later on in a genuine portion of the older text.

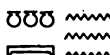
2. It would be impossible to find a more emphatic assertion of the doctrine of *Nomina Numina*; and that more than 3000 years before Christ.

The *Names* of Râ, the Sun-god, are said, when taken together, to compose 'the cycle of the gods.' . Or the names which he has created, to which he has given rise, that is the names of all the solar phenomena, recurring as they do, day after day, to the eyes of all beholders, compose "the cycle of the gods," who are also called the limbs or members of Râ.

The scholia contained in the papyri of the eighteenth and later dynasties explain the text as follows:—

"It is Râ as he creates the *names* of his *limbs* () which become the gods who accompany him."

And the present chapter later on says of Chepera, the rising Sun, that the "cycle of the gods is his body."

The god who has hitherto been spoken of is Râ. In glaring contradiction to the whole text, a later note states that the resistless god is "the Water, which is *Nu*"; that is Heaven.*   *Nu* is not alluded to at all in the primitive text, but the papyrus of Nebseni already exhibits the corruption of the fine passage, "I am he who closeth and he who openeth, and I am but One." This is itself an addition, the true meaning of which was afterwards destroyed by the interpolation of the words . These are ambiguous. They might mean that the god was alone 'in heaven,' or that he was alone 'as Heaven.' The papyrus of Ani has , "I was born from Nu." These attempted improvements do not give a favourable impression of the exegetical acumen of Egyptian theologians.

* It is certain that from the earliest times Heaven as    'the Great Weeper,' was considered as the source of life to gods and men. But myths must not be mixed. One must not be considered as the explanation of another.

But the mention of 'Water' in the scholion has nothing whatever to do with the doctrine of Thales, and to suppose that it has implies a confusion between two very different realms of human thought.

3. 'The kinsman of the Morrow,' literally 'I know the Morrow.' The word  signifies *am*, *ken*, and *kin*.

The papyrus of Nebsepi and all the subsequent texts give the explanation that Yesterday means Osiris, and the Morrow means Râ. And the vignette in the papyrus of Ani gives the name of Yesterday to one of the Libes and of Morrow to the other.

4. The earliest texts have either  'speak,' or  'command.' The meaning is the same in both readings. Strife arose among the gods at the bidding of Râ: that is every force in nature began its appropriate career of activity, necessarily coming into contact and conflict with the other forces. And of all this collision the first cause, the origin of all activity and motion, is the Sun.

This mythological cosmology reminds one of the saying of Heraclitus that "Strife is the father and the king of all things," and the doctrine that all becoming must be conceived as the product of warring opposites—*πάντα κατ' ἐπὶν γίνεσθαι*.

5. The Heron is the bird called  *bennu*, the numerous pictures of which enable us to identify it with the Common Heron or Heronshaw. The reason for connecting this bird with the Sun-god has to be sought in the etymology of its name.  *ben* is a verb of motion, and particularly of 'going round.'  *benenu* is a ring, also a 'round pill.' The Sun therefore is very naturally called *bennu*, an appellative like *ἀναλωέλιος* in the Orphic hymns.

 'of that which is, and of that which cometh into being.' Here, as in many other places, , which is a verb of motion, and really signifies 'rise up, spring forth,' is pointedly distinguished from , that which (is). So far from signifying 'being, that which is,' it very much more nearly corresponds to  in the frequent expression  , 'that which is and that which is not yet.' The sense of 'good being' so commonly given to the divine name Unnefer is utterly erroneous.

6. The reading of the name  is proved by the numerous variants of this passage to be *Āmsu*. In M. Naville's edition, II pl. 41, the name, as written in *Ce*, would seem to be    *ām*. But I already in *Zeitschr.*, 1877 (p. 98) pointed out, that in this manuscript the last sign  is at the top of a column, and that at the foot of the preceding column there is a space where the signs , following  (as they still do in the next passage), have been obliterated. No one from merely looking at M. Naville's copy would guess that there was any interval between  and .

The god's name is written    on a tablet, Denkm. III, 114 i. And the name is also written  or , which are ligatures of  and .

7. Note that in this scholion Horus, 'the avenger of his father,' calls his father not Osiris but Tmu. In the more recent texts there are many interpretations of the two Feathers. One is "his two *Eyes* are the Feathers." But the favourite one is "Isis and Nephthys, who have risen up as two kites"    .

8. The                 

These names are not personifications of the senses but, as in all cases, appellatives expressing attributes.

12. See Note 2 on ch. 4.

13. The Eye (  ) being the Sun or Moon, the period of distress ( ) is that of obscuration or eclipse, and the hairy net ( ) which is removed is the shadow which passes for a time over the heavenly body.

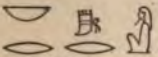
The explanation which M. Maspero has recently given (P.S.B.A. XIV, 314) of the word   , as connected with    'health,' receives confirmation from the scholia in the papyri, according to which Thoth not only delivered the Eye from the veil of darkness which oppressed it, but carried it off       'in life, health and strength, without any damage.'

14. Mehurit is explained in the ancient scholion as 'the Eye,' but it is really the Sky, from which the Sun is born daily. The sign of plurality after Mehurit (if it means anything) only indicates the daily succession of the skies whence Râ is born.

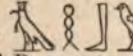
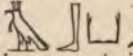
15. The 'coffined One'    is of course Osiris, as it is plainly stated in the later scholia, which further add that the 'Seven glorious ones' who follow the coffin, or, as they read it, "their Lord," are to be sought in the constellation of 'the Thigh in the northern sky,' that is in the seven stars of the Great Bear.

These stars never set, but are perpetually revolving round the Pole. It is therefore evidently with the Polar Star that we must identify the coffin of Osiris. The names of the Seven Glorious ones vary according to the different authorities. And these Stars themselves receive other mythical forms; that of the Seven Cows and their Bull is recorded in the 148th chapter. Names like 'the Red-eyed'    or the 'Red-haired' cow   seem to imply *double* stars. The 'Red-eyed' is said to abide in   'house of gauze' (perhaps a cobweb).

The papyri add the important note that the "day of Come thou hither"! represents the moment "when Osiris says to Râ, Come thou hither"! or, as some read, "Come thou to me." The speaker adds that he sees the meeting of the two gods in Amenta.

16.  possessor of completeness, integrity, hence 'involute.' This name is given to Osiris when restored to his first condition after having been dismembered and cut into pieces. The god is called *Râ-Tmu-Nebert'er* in the great Harris papyrus, 15, 3.

17. It is most probable that the Cat became the representative of the Sun because of the homonymy between the Egyptian name  *mâû* of the animal and the attributive  *mau*, 'shining' said of the Sun. But the Egyptian scribe gives a different etymological explanation. Sau said of Râ "he is  *maû* of what he hath made."  may, like the Latin *exemplar*, be either the type or the prototype, the copy or the original. The creatures of Râ were made after his likeness. Sanskrit literature, from the Çatapata Brahmana down to the Vishnu Purâna, is full of similar etymologies. The Egyptians from the very first delighted in this play upon words.

18. Nehebu-kau,  or  is the son of Seb and Renenut. The etymology of the name is indicated in the Pyramid texts.  *nehbu* is to 'carry, sustain, support' (whence  *nehbet* a neck, and  *nehb* a yoke), and the rest of the word is the plural of *ka*, which is susceptible of more than one meaning. It might signify the divine or human *ka*, but the word is sometimes (e.g., Todt., 125, 32) written  'victuals.' The god is one of the forty-two judges of the dead, and in some copies of the Book of the Dead he is described as coming forth from his  a word most frequently used for the source of the Nile. The serpent  which is a most frequent determinative of the name, is an additional reason for identifying this god with the Nile: a conclusion which seems fully justified by the Pyramid texts, which speak of him as Water , and describe him as    , "of many windings." (See Pepi I, 341 and 487.)

19. This Devourer has the same functions as the strange animal called    *Amemit* in the pictures of the Psychostasia. The later scholia add that the Devourer comes from the 'basin of Punit,' the Red sea. They add other names,   
 *Mâtes* 'Flint,' "stationed at the gate of Amenta," and  
  or  *Baba*, who, in ch. 63, 2, is described as the first born of Osiris. He is a terrible god from whom the deceased prays in ch. 125, 36, to be delivered. His name implies 'one who searches or probes thoroughly,' as a digger or miner. And such are his functions at the judgment of the dead.

Instead of  *tesem*, a 'hound,' *La* reads   
sân, a sheep.

20. The   *Mesgât* is a    'a place of scourging.' The word    is known as signifying violent treatment by beating, and has been illustrated by Chabas and Goodwin. See *Zeitschr.*, 1874, p. 62. In the 72nd chapter the deceased prays that he may not perish at the *Mesgât*. A kindred word    *Mesqa* signifies 'a hide.' We can understand the connection between *δέρω* 'flay, cudgel, thrash' and *δέρμα* 'a hide.' And we ourselves have the familiar phrase of 'giving a *hiding*.' But purification as well as punishment was found at the heavenly *mesgât*. It is mentioned in the Harris Magical papyrus (6, 3) simply as a heavenly thing. In the more recent scholia the purifier is said to be Anubis, who is behind the chest containing the remains of Osiris.

After the scholion which has just been translated the early texts pass on to the 18th chapter.

For the rest of the chapter we are compelled to follow the texts of the papyri. The character of this portion differs considerably from the former part, and is clearly an addition. The speakers rapidly succeed each other. "I am Tmu," "I am Isis," "I was conceived by Isis," "Isis destroyeth what in me is wrong," and finally "I am Uat'it."

21. Cher-âbat and Heliopolis like all the localities here mentioned are in heaven not upon earth.

22. Uat'it is literally 'the pale one,' a name of the Dawn. But here the fiery dawn is spoken of, ἡὺν φλογερά, πυρίβρομος.

. Hemen  is a divinity seldom, if ever, mentioned the "Middle Empire." In the Pyramid texts he has a Snake River) in his hand.

4. The last line of the chapter has suffered in all the best papyri. M. Naville's collation. In the papyrus of Ani the chapter is ished. The later papyri end the chapter by saying that "it has granted to the speaker by those who are in Tattu to destroy by he souls of his adversaries." This consummation is already l in *La*.



PLATE I.

The vignettes of Chapter I (Plates I and II) represent the funeral procession. Plate I is taken from the Papyrus of Hunefer (B.M. 9901). The mummy of the deceased in a boat-shaped hearse is conveyed on a sledge drawn by oxen. A naos with the figure of a jackal upon it is drawn upon a sledge behind the mummy. Under the funeral couch of the mummy are the four so-called Canopic vases, containing the viscera of the deceased. Immediately in front of the sledge, a Sem priest, habited in the panther's skin, holds in one hand a censer containing incense, and with the other hand pours a libation of lustral milk upon the ground which has to be travelled over. An attendant bears a chair upon his head. He has a stick in one hand and a scribe's pallet in the other. The mourners here, who put dust upon their heads, are chiefly females. A priestly personage in front of them is reading from a papyrus.

Lower down, the mummy has reached its destination. It is supported by Anubis (or rather by a priest wearing the mask of this god), and the widow of the deceased is represented before it in two different attitudes of grief. Three priests are behind her; two are performing the rite of "opening the mouth" of the mummy, whilst a third (the Sem in the panther's skin) stands before a pile of offerings, and holds in his hands the censer and the vase of libation. Behind the mummy are the funereal tablet and a picture of that part of the tomb which was built above ground.

The lower register of the plate represents two priests in the centre performing sepulchral rites, and behind them a Cow and Calf on a raised platform. The Calf is the Rising Sun and the Cow is his mother, Heaven, under the name of Secha-Horu.

PLATE II.

The vignette *a* from the Papyrus of Neb-ket in the Louvre is particularly interesting, as showing the underground portion of the tomb. The mummy is lying in the sepulchral chamber, and the soul of the deceased person is seen descending in the form of a bird from the upper world to visit the body.

The vignette *b*, from a papyrus in the British Museum, and the picture *c*, from a Theban tomb, given in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, present interesting variations. Others will be found in the first volume of M. Naville's *Todtenbuch*.

PLATE

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1892.



See



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER I.

a

Museum Louvre.

No. III, 36.

b.

British Museum.

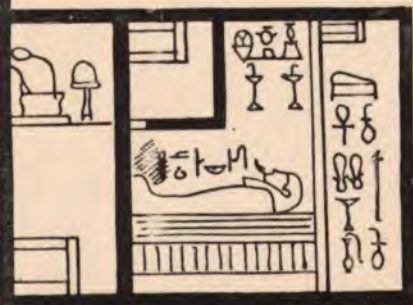
No. 9949 (portion).

c.

Painting. Thebes.

WILKINSON'S "Ancient Egyptians."

See NAVILLE, "Book of the Dead."



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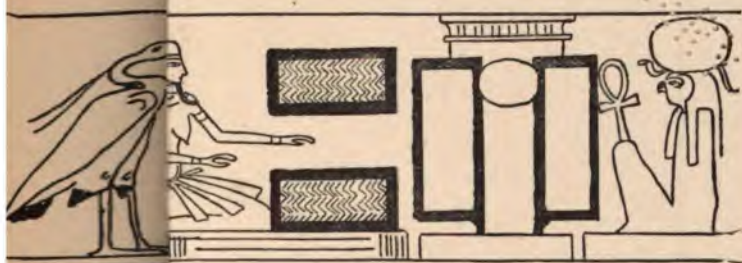
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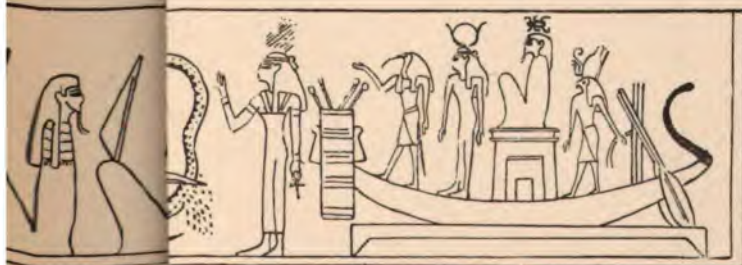
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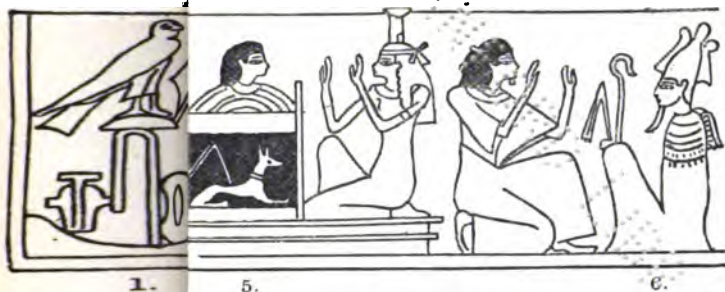


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PLATE III.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1892.

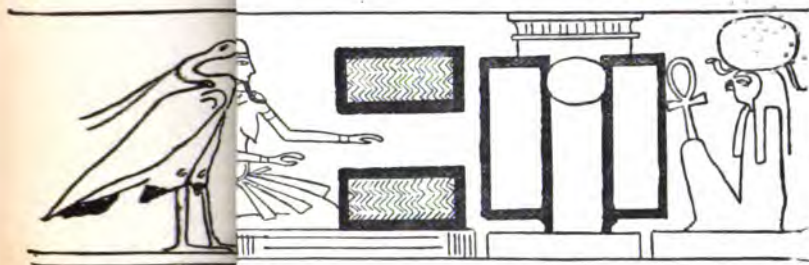
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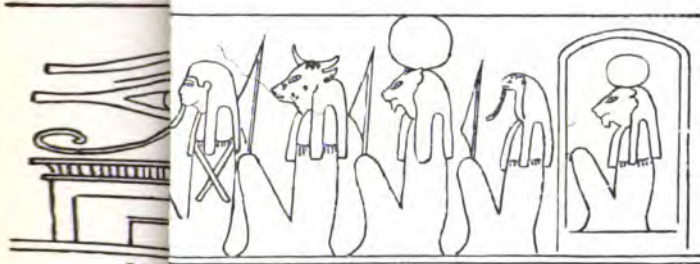
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20.



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Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1892.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

CHAPTER XVII.

a. Berlin Museum. No. 1470.

b. British Museum. No. 9901.

See NAVILLE, "Book of the Dead," I. Plate.

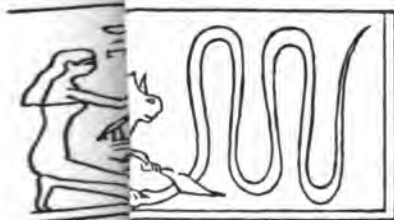
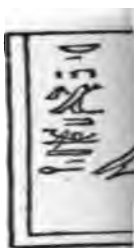


PLATE III.

This vignette of Chapter XVII is taken from the great hieroglyphic papyrus of Trinity College, Dublin, *Da* of M. Naville. The following subjects receive illustration.

1. The ideogram of Amenta, with the symbols $\ominus$ and ☿ of food and drink.

2. The deceased and his wife seated in a bower, before a table upon which is a draught-board.

3. The souls of the deceased and of his wife.

4. The deceased in adoration before Two Lions seated back to back under ☰ the ideogram of the sky. The ideogram ☼ of the rising sun is between them. In the Papyrus of Ani one of the lions is named "Yesterday," and the other "Morrow."

5. The coffin of Osiris between the kneeling figures of Isis and Nephtys. The head which rises out of the coffin is that of Râ.

6. The deceased kneeling before the "great god," the "herald of Râ."

7. The *Bennu*, "the great Heron who is in Heliopolis." The original of the picture has been somewhat damaged, so that the plumes depending from the neck of the bird do not appear. But see the picture in the Papyrus of Ani.

8. The mummy of Osiris between Isis and Nephtys in the forms of Kites. The soul of Osiris hovers over the mummy, holding in its talons the ring which is ideographic both of motion in an orbit and of infinity.

9. The two "Uræi upon the forehead of Tmu," one representing the South and the other the North. Cf. vignette of *Ag*.

10. The personage with hanging breast turning his hands to the Lakes of Mâât and of Natron is, in the Ani Papyrus, named  the "Great Deep" (literally the "great green or pale one").

The personage behind him is  "He who regulateth eternity."

11. "The gate with the two doors and openings through which father Tmu issueth to the Eastern horizon of Heaven."

12. "The Eye."

13. "The Mehurit Cow."

14. "The Coffined One" (Osiris) with the four sons of Horus, and in this vignette two other gods.

15. This group is apparently meant for "the spirits or bright ones who accompany their Lord," but the number should be seven. M. de Rougé obtains this number by including the first divinity in the next line.

16. "He whose soul resideth in a pair of gods."

17. The deceased in adoration before five criocephalous gods representing the souls of Râ, Shu, Tefnut, Seb and the god of Tattu. The names are written in the vignette of the Papyrus of Hunefer.

18. "The Persea tree in Heliopolis."

19. "The Great Cat, who is Râ himself."

20. "Chepera in the midst of his bark," with Thoth and Maât before him and Horus at the rudders.

The vignette ends here, like those of other ancient papyri, but some of the XIXth dynasty (as *La* of Leyden and Ani) add pictures of the "Lion with dazzling mouth," and "Uat'it the Fiery" who are mentioned in the additional portion of the chapter.

The *Smen* goose is of very rare occurrence, and the ithyphallic god Amsu never occurs in the earlier vignettes.

More recent forms of the vignette of this chapter may be seen in the Turin *Todtenbuch* published by Lepsius, in the Cadet Papyrus, and in the Hieratic text of Leyden (T. 16) published by Leemans.

The additions characteristic of these later texts are, first a picture of a person holding in one hand an image of the ithyphallic god Amsu, and in the other a lotus flower, and secondly a bark, in which the central figure is the sun-god in the form of a ram. The rowers in front have the royal crown of the South, and those behind have the crown of the North. Both these pictures come before the Two Lions, between 2 and 3 in Plate III.

The Leyden Papyrus *a* after the "Hawk which flies" and the "Smen Goose which cackles" already have the figures of two divinities with the feather of Maât on their heads and surmounted by a pair of eyes. They are perhaps the "inquisitorial Wardens" from whom there is no escape. In the later MSS. they stand facing six throned

deities, and the intermediate space is occupied by the names of certain festivals not mentioned in the chapter.

All the later vignettes end as follows. The Solar bark is saluted by two cynocephali and by Isis and Nephthys at each end. The cynocephali are identified in the text with these goddesses. Then follows a personage bearing a sepulchral chest, and behind him Anubis. The deceased invokes Tmu (or Osiris, who is the same divinity) seated upon a throne. The final scene consists of a woman inclined at an acute angle over a lion, and between them a scarab rising. Isis and Nephthys are seated behind.

PLATE IV.

The vignettes in this plate are taken (*a*) from the Papyrus of Máut-em-uâ, now in the Museum at Berlin, and (*b*) from the Papyrus of Hunefer in the British Museum.

The first is interesting as being that of a lady, a fact forgotten by the artist when he attached a beard to the face of the bird representing the soul of the departed. He had correctly depicted it at the beginning of the vignette. The figures of Isis and Nephthys kneeling before the coffin of Osiris are without any of the signs pointing out the divine natures of these divinities.

The most interesting figure in *b* is that of the Ibis-headed Thoth restoring the Eye in life, health, and strength, without any damage.



A SECOND NOTE ON THE ROYAL TITLE .

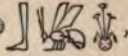
BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

In a note which appeared in the January number of these *Proceedings*, on the subject of Mr. Sethe's supposed discovery of the true reading of the royal title  , I said, "I know of another argument which might be forthcoming in favour of *bât* as the royal title, and I have a ready answer which I reserve for the proper occasion."

I was aware that an argument might be drawn from a certain Demotic text at Leyden, and I hoped that if it were produced at all, a sufficient commentary upon the context would be given by a competent scholar. A very competent scholar, Mr. W. Max Müller, has come forward with the argument in the last number of the *Zeitschrift f. Ägyptische Sprache*, but he does not think it worth the while to give the commentary I should have wished. He attaches far greater importance to evidence of a much older date than to a Demotic text of the most recent period,* the writer of which I believe to be absolutely of *no* authority whatever on a question like that which concerns us.

This late writer derives the royal title from the 'fly of honey,' that is, the *bee*. This is itself a proof that he knew nothing about it. The insect  in the royal title is, as the most accurate judges from the time of Sir J. G. Wilkinson certify, not a Bee, but a *Wasp*, and in the royal title  , as in the name   of the goddess Neith, *Net* signifies the shooting one, on account of its *sting*. [Is Mr. Müller aware of the fact that the name of the goddess Neith is written   as well as  ? What inference does he draw from the fact? and has it nothing to do with what he is talking about?]

* "Freilich braucht man einem so späten Text keine grosse Autorität zugestehen."

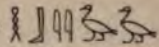
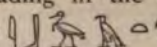
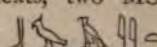
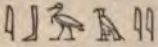
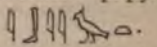
The insect is also a *Wasp* in the geographical name , and here its name is derived from its curved form. But besides these, it had various other names. The point however to which importance might be attached is that the Demotic text clearly points to the bee's name $\Delta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\Pi\text{-}\epsilon\delta\text{w}$, and therefore, even if the author is utterly wrong about his archæology, he proves nevertheless that  is the Egyptian transcription for $\epsilon\delta\text{w}$; therefore, *et cetera*.

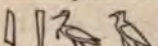
The answer is clear enough. You have no right to fix upon $\epsilon\delta\text{w}$ as the original form. It finished by becoming the classical Coptic form. But $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\text{w}$ has a far better claim. Nothing can be more ridiculously arbitrary than the way in which Coptic is treated. It is but quite recently that that language has been studied, and even now everything remains to be done for it which has been most carefully done for the comparative study of the Indo-European languages. There is no critical apparatus as yet for Coptic. There is at this moment a perfectly senseless *furor* for Sahidic as contrasted with Memphitic and a ludicrously ignorant contempt for Bashmuric as for a patois! What would all the masters of glottology from Bopp to Brugmann say of this? Do they think cheaply of Lithuanian?

Another assumption is that Coptic is derived from the Egyptian language as represented in the hieroglyphic texts. It is so only in the same sense as French and Portuguese and Wallachian are derived from the Latin of Cicero and Virgil. And from this monstrous assumption the sapient conclusion is drawn that Coptic is to regulate our notions as to the phonetic rules of old Egyptian. As justly might English or Germans judge of the ancient Latin pronunciation and accentuation from studying the French.

I say that, so far as evidence has yet been produced, if  has to be represented by $\epsilon\delta\text{w}$ or $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\text{w}$, the latter is to be preferred, because  $\bar{a}f$ is notoriously one of the best-proved values of , and that the change from the old Egyptian $\times$ to δ is equally notorious.

So much for the Demotic authority, which is only the starting point of Mr. Müller. He proceeds to produce variants which have for many years past been noted in my books, but which I am amazed to see in their present use.

Instead of the group  in *Tbht.*, 76, 1, which is the recognised reading in the later texts, two MSS. in the British Museum have  or , the latter group having a very queer insect as determinative which, with reduplication of the first letter, is repeated in the same MS. (that of Nebseni) in ch. 104. Here the other British Museum papyrus *Ae* gives , and one at Cairo . Mr. Müller thereupon assumes that the original form of the word was

.

I am almost tempted to believe that he has not laid all his evidence before us, for his premises are singularly deficient in force as regards his conclusion. But he is evidently guided by his erroneous translation of a passage in the Book of the Dead, 76, 1, which he renders thus:—"I approach the house of the King of Upper Egypt, and it is the King of Lower Egypt who bringeth me."

When he has worked at the Book of the Dead as long as I have, he will feel satisfied that the book *never* speaks of Kings of Upper or Lower Egypt. And one fact may become palpable to every one: which is that not one of the scribes who copied the manuscripts which have come down to us understood the passage as he does. They all give a *bird* or two *birds* as the determinative of the word in question, except the scribe of Nebseni; and he knows perfectly well how to draw a Wasp when it is required. It is simply incredible that every one of the scribes, without exception, should have blundered when he had to write the royal ideogram. What M. Müller has in fact *demonstrated* is that the royal title cannot possibly have the phonetic reading which he imagines.

It may appear strange that while I take so very different a view of things from Mr. Müller, I am far from denying that  may sometimes (*when combined with another sign* showing that the royal title is *not* meant) have the value *bait* or *âbait*. But before I explain my reasons for so believing it will be well to look at the other evidence which he produces.

He refers to a play upon words between  'Honey' and  *âb* 'heart' in Mar. *Abyd.*, I, 35, 24. I have unfortunately at this moment not access to *this* reference, but I have several copies

of the texts referred to, and in *none* of them is there a play upon the word  *âb*. In the Tomb of 'Khâ-em-hâ,' for instance (*Mission Arch. Française*, I, p. 119, line 56) the word corresponding to  is not  but  *benât*, 'the sweet,' which is the name of the 'Eye of Horus' in *this* place from the earliest times, as we can see from the inscriptions of Unas and the other primitive texts, and also from the many lists which Dümichen has compared (*Grabpalast*, Abth. I). In the list of Pepi II the prosthetic  makes the word  *âbnat*.

Lastly, I deny that there is any parallelism or antithesis between    and  in Maspero, *Momies royales*, pl. 25, and shall be surprised if any one else who knows what parallelism is can find it there.    is distinctly referred to  *ba* which precedes it. And M. Maspero is quite right in connecting the two words.

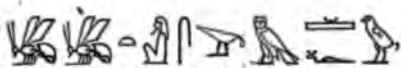
Having now done with Mr. Müller's arguments, I proceed to show how by a very different process I have been led to a conclusion which has an outward appearance of resemblance to one of his conclusions.

The beginning of the seventy-sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead is to be interpreted as follows:—"I have made my way to [or through] the royal palace [in heaven, 'regia Solis, sublimibus alta columnis']. It was [the god] Abait who brought me up hither. Hail to thee, who fliest up to heaven, giving light to the Stars!"

There is nothing here about Upper or Lower Egypt or anything earthly. But there is a very remarkable illustration of the passage in a primitive text which puzzled Goodwin as well as me, when we first read it in the *Aelleste Texte* of Lepsius. It has now become perfectly clear since M. Maspero gave a more complete copy of it from the tomb of Horhotep.

In this text, which contains various questions and answers about the heavenly journey of the glorified, the mention of the *Sechet Aarru* is followed up by the question "Who conducted thee?"  

    ." The answer is   

 "It was the 'Bird-fly' * deity who conducted me."

This curious ideographic combination of an insect and a bird in the formation of a proper name ought not to astonish us when we think of such names as *bull-finch*, *dragon-fly*, *star-fish*, *oiseau-mouche*, and many others. And this is not the only text where the deity just mentioned is referred to, or where the combination of bird and fly may be noted. I would particularly call attention to a passage which occurs in the inscriptions of Pepi I (line 79) and of Merenrâ (line 34). This speaks of the heavenly experiences of the deceased, and says the latter is born of , this name being followed by a determinative consisting of two signs, which might in the inscription of Pepi be taken as pictures of a couple of birds in their nests. But in the inscription of Merenrâ the 'nests' are certainly raised boats with oars and *rudders*. And in referring back to the Pepi text the *rudders* are distinctly recognised.

Now another interesting text of the greatest antiquity contains an invocation to the  of the  of Osiris. The word  *âbait* is most remarkable, not only as being identical with the name of the god in *Todt.*, 76, 1, but as having the bird as a determinative.† It is identically the same word. *Âbait* is the *Tiller* of the rudder, *οἶαξ τοῦ πηδαλίου*, by which it was handled and regulated. The word is derived from .

I believe (but this requires proof, which must be reserved for another time) that , one of the demonstrative roots, was prefixed in

* Various reasons lead me to suspect that a *Butterfly* is meant. It would be interesting to discover in Egyptian the same association of ideas which we find in the use of the Greek *ψυχή*.

I wish the variants to Pepi I, 267 could throw light on this question, but they only shed darkness.

† This is not extraordinary. Our modern languages like ancient ones give the names of animals to inanimate things. Our word *fly* is used for a variety of mechanical contrivances (chiefly for regulating motion). And the word *cock*, like the German *Hahn*, the French *chien*, and many others that might be mentioned, is expressive of other objects than the creature itself.

the early period, not as a mere prosthetic sound but, like || , to many words for the purpose of giving them an active and causative signification. The same process is visible in Assyrian, Aramaic and Arabic. And these languages prove that it is no objection that the primitive root may sufficiently express activity.

A short but careful study of the oldest texts will, I think, convince every one that both $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (also written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ Teta, 350) are there used in the sense of *exerting force, driving, cogere, compellere, impellere*. One of the names of Horus is $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ 'who drives his father up to heaven. But the god is frequently spoken as doing his will without the compulsion or resistance of others, $\text{𓂏} \text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, $\text{𓂏} \text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, or $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$. I give these well-known phrases by way of illustration; not by any means as a complete demonstration of what every scholar may most easily verify for himself.

I have elsewhere* spoken of the word $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *soul*

* Note 20 on ch. 1 of Book of Dead, and *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1892, p. 351.

The Egyptian word for *soul*, $\text{𓂏} \text{ba}$, derives its origin from a root $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ which means *dig, pierce, split, divide, drive, set in motion*. It is connected with $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ an aperture, $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ a cavern, but even more nearly with $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ or $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ a mine or quarry and $\text{||} \text{𓂏}$ the metal, that which is dug up. In the Greek *μέταλλον*, the first syllable is the preposition *μετά*, but the chief part of the word is radically connected with *ελάω*, *ελαύνω* *drive, set in motion*, like the Egyptian *ba*. And in Homer we meet with *ελάαν*, in the sense of *rowing*, and with *ελαύνοντες* as the *rowers*. The Indo-European root from which these words come is also the origin of *άρών, ἄροτρον, arare, aratrum, ῥέτης, remus, remigium*, and the Sanskrit *aridh*, a rower, and *aritra*, a rudder. In connection with the notion of *driving, transporting, carrying*, we have the words $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ a sledge, carriage, and $\text{||} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ the sacred boat. And it is in this connection that the capital of a pillar is called 𓂏 . But a whole paper might be written on the ramifications of the primitive concept.

and of its primitive signification. It is most frequently written in these early texts  with  as its determinative, which shows the concept in which its meaning originated.

As Mr. Müller is one of the most active and intelligent workers among us, I wish he would find it worth his while to look out for proof that   means the King of Lower Egypt. This is no part of our legacy from Champollion, and was only inferred at a time when the knowledge of the texts was most meagre. M. Grébaut has long since asked for proofs, and none to my knowledge have ever been given. I am sure from my own studies that on this point M. Grébaut cannot be refuted.



NOTES ON EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BY F. L. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

A paragraph intended to rectify a few points in regard to measures of capacity, has rapidly expanded into what I fear is hardly less than a bulky conspectus of Egyptian metrology, as derivable at the present moment from hieroglyphic and hieratic sources down to the Ptolemaic period.* In presenting it to the benevolent criticism of Egyptologists and others, I must not fail to acknowledge my enormous indebtedness to the writings of others who have collected together materials and have often discussed them with success: Brugsch, Chabas, Dümichen, Eisenlohr, Lepsius, Petrie, and Revillout are names that will especially be remembered in connection with important discoveries and publications in the province of Egyptian weights and measures. Firm ground is now being reached at many points: the great official systems are yielding up their secrets; but side by side with them one seems to discern here and there vestiges of popular and perhaps foreign systems, which have left few traces in written records, and yet were abundantly used by the mixed peoples of ancient Egypt according to their various crafts and at various periods of the country's history.

It will be seen that the XVIIIth dynasty forms as marked an epoch in metrology as in palæography and in the still unwritten history of titles.

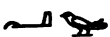
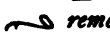
SECTION I.—MEASURES OF LENGTH.

The royal cubit of about 20·6 inches with its subdivisions into 7 palms and 28 digits is the ordinary measure of length. For land, a measure of 100 cubits named *khet* or *khet n nuh* "reel of cord," and for itinerary measures the *ater* or schoenus, of varying length in different localities, formed the units.

The cubit. The royal cubit  *meh suten* is well known from inscribed examples, the earliest of which date from the XVIIIth

* A few illustrations are taken, chiefly at second-hand, from demotic and Greek documents.

dynasty. Many of them are divided in a most elaborate way, and the divisions are generally accompanied by names, but the only division that can as yet be recognised in other inscriptions are the *shep* or "palm" , $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cubit, and the *téba* , "finger" or "digit," $\frac{1}{4}$. The others were probably in practical use, but records of length less than the royal cubit were kept, so far as can be ascertained, in terms of the palm and digit. These cubit rods, the evidence of which has to be received with caution, for they are often very carelessly inscribed, have been published and discussed by Lepsius in his memoir entitled *Ueber die Altaegyptische Elle und ihre Eintheilung* (Berlin, 1865), to which I beg to refer the reader for fuller information. According to Lepsius, the chief divisions marked upon them are:—

| | | | |
|---|---|--------------------|--------------|
|  | "royal cubit" | = 7 palms | = 28 digits. |
|  | <i>meh net's</i> , "short cubit" | = 6 " | = 24 " |
|  | <i>remen</i> , "upper arm" | = 5 " | = 20 " |
|  | <i>teser</i> | = 4 " | = 16 " |
|  | <i>pet aa</i> , "great span" | = $3\frac{1}{2}$ " | = 14 " |
|  | <i>pet net's</i> , "small span" | = 3 " | = 12 " |
|  | | = 2 " | = 8 " |
|  | | = $1\frac{1}{2}$ " | = 6 " |
|  | "handbreadth" | = $1\frac{1}{4}$ " | = 5 " |
|  |  *,  <i>sp</i> , "palm" | = 1 " | = 4 " |
|  | <i>t'ba</i> , digit (subdivided $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, etc., to $\frac{1}{16}$) | = $\frac{1}{4}$ " | = 1 " |

but when the details are closely examined, it is found that the progression is not quite so uniform, and that probably several more or less incommensurable units have been pressed into the scheme, partly indeed by the Egyptians themselves.†

Subdivisions of the cubit are not common in the early periods, and it is fortunate that Mr. Newberry has found an early hieroglyphic sign for *shep* in revising the well known inscription of Chnemhotep at Beni Hasan (XIIth dynasty). In l. 202 we now have , 5 cubits two palms; where  may be an abbreviation of the .

*  is only approximately correct. The sign is practically  with the thumb omitted.

† Flinders Petrie, article on *Weights and Measures* in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, IXth edition.

(= ) which is found on some cubit rods. The later form of *shep*  is taken from the hieratic. The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (XVIth dynasty) sometimes writes the word   in full, and marks a finger (quarter of the palm) in the hieratic by a dash / (Pl. XV).

Measurements of small objects. There are but few records of the measurements of small objects. On the shrine of Saft el Henneh, XXXth dynasty (edited by Naville, Pl. V-VII), for the dimensions of small images we find the digit used as the unit up to a total length of 10 digits, e.g.,   for 6 and 10, while 14 digits are expressed as                  

It follows from the equations given by that document, namely:—

$$(1.) \text{henu} = \frac{1}{16} \text{hekt}$$

$$(2.) 100 \text{ quadruple hekt} = 20 \text{ khar}$$

$$(3.) \text{khar} = \frac{2}{3} \text{ cubit cubed}$$

that the *henu* = $\frac{1}{16}$ of 20 *khar*

$$= \frac{1}{80} \times \frac{2}{3} \text{ cubit cubed} = \frac{1}{120} \text{ cubit cubed.}$$

According to Mr. Petrie,* the cubit shown in the marvellously accurate work of the Great Pyramid is 20.62 inches, and the average of the royal cubit on the rods is 20.65. Taken at 20.6 inches the cubit when cubed gives 8742 cubic inches, of which $\frac{1}{120}$ is 29.7. 20.65" would give 8805 cubic inches, of which $\frac{1}{120}$ is 29.35. The average capacity of the *henu* is known from several inscribed examples (which however vary considerably amongst themselves), to be 29.2 ± .6 inch,† so the equation with the cubit cubed is extraordinarily accurate.‡ The cubits of 17 and 25 inches would give totally wrong results.

In all probability any cubits other than the royal cubit would be distinguished by some name or epithet in the inscriptions. The , whenever it occurs, is presumably that of about 20.6 inches. The  is found as an architectural unit on the earliest monuments of the time of Senefru, at Médûm,§ and at Abûsir,|| and the arm  is the determinative of the words , meaning "measured length, breadth," in the inscription of Una, of the VIth dynasty, where a barge of 60 by 30 cubits is mentioned. In the quarry of Hammamât the sizes of blocks are recorded in cubits.

The MSS. of the Book of the Dead, in cursive hieroglyphs, as edited by M. Naville, give an interesting example of the cubit notation in the chapter 108, l. 1, 2: namely,    (con-

* *Weights and Measures.*

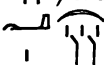
† Flinders Petrie, *l.c.*

‡ That the *henu* was intended to be $\frac{1}{120}$ of the cubit cubed can hardly be admitted: 1, the equation goes against the working equations of the Rhind Papyrus, which are no rough approximations, but (in practice at least) are the bases of minute calculations down to fractions of the ; 2, it leads to a *henu* of only 27.3 to 27.8 cubic inches, and is therefore apparently inaccurate; 3, there is no direct evidence in the texts for such a relation with the cubed cubit.

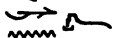
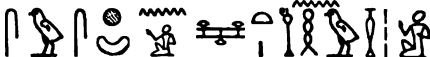
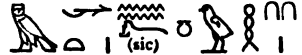
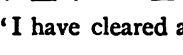
§ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. VIII.

|| L.D., II, 7, tomb of Amten.

firmed by a fragment of another copy , which can only be translated " $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cubit of 7 palms." This seems to indicate, (1) that the Egyptians really recognised a cubit other than that of 7 palms, (2) that they occasionally wrote " $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit" instead of "3 palms 2 fingers." Once also in the Rhind Papyrus (No. 46) we find $3\frac{1}{2}$ (cubits) where the unit is not written.

Inscriptions of every period might be quoted to show that, for architectural purposes, the only recorded unit of linear measurement was the cubit ,  without special multiples. Amten, in the IVth dynasty, tells of a house 200 cubits $\times$ 200 cubits. In the plan of the grave of Rameses IV (XXth dynasty, *Br. Thes.*, p. 1441) the entries are all  135 cubits 2 palms down to  1 cubit 3 palms 2 fingers, and the like. So also the dimensions of the temple of Edfu are all in cubits, palms, and fingers.

The khet. The main land measure was the , *khet*, which is shown by its relation to the *âpoupa* to be 100 cubits in length. It occurs in the Book of the Dead: in Chapter 108, l. 1, 2, of the Turin text, the mount of Bekhat is said to be 370 *khet*  in length and 140 cubits  in breadth. (The variants in M. Naville's edition give for the *length* (1)   " $\frac{1}{2}$ of a cubit of 7 palms" (see above), (2) "4 cubits 4 palms and 2 fingers," (3) "300 cubits," each with breadth of 200 or 300 cubits.) In Chapter 149 of the Turin text describes a mountain 300  long and the same broad. The earlier variants for this are 300  or  for the length, and 10 , 10 , or 10  *ater* (!) for the width.

At Edfu and at Denderah (Brugsch, *Wtb.*, *Suppl.*, p. 963) the  as the side of the *âpoupa* appears also as , , , a word of which the true form is given by a stela of the time of Thothmes I, at Kum el Ahmar, opposite El Kab. A certain Tehuti says there  "I have cleared a road for my offerings,  (sic) 

of 21 *khet*.* The tomb in which the stela is engraved is a long distance behind the ancient town, which itself lies on level desert, so that this road of about 1,200 yards or 1 kilometre was a very suitable encouragement to visitors.

The name , determined by @, evidently means something like "a reel of cord," the measuring line of 100 cubits being no doubt wound round a stick or reel. It is remarkable that no text recording simply linear measurement gives fractions or special multiples of the .

The schoenus. As an itinerary measure for very long distances there is the  *ater*, which apparently corresponds to the *σχώνος* of Herodotus and other Greek authors (who value it at 60, 40, 32, or 30 stades). On a stela of Amenhotep III from Semneh, the distance between two garrisons in Ethiopia,  (near Dakkeh) and  (cf. ) is given as  "52 *ater* of sailing."† Rameses III at Medinet Habu states that "the slaughter of the enemy continued from  to the city (?) of Rameses III which is on the hill of, making  "8 *ater*." In the picture of the fields of Hotep, Chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead, the Ani Papyrus gives the length of the  as an *ater*, , while the Turin text gives 1,000 *aters* .

In a papyrus of the Louvre (Pierret, *Insc. du Louvre*, I, pp. 104 and 107) we have the forms , , the last leading to the Ptolemaic .

* *Proceedings*, X, plate opposite p. 74, bottom line. My extract is taken from an excellent copy made by Mr. Petrie in 1887: most of the readings were incorporated in the published copy, *l.c.*, but some seem to have been omitted from the plate.

† Birch, *On an Historical Tablet of Rameses II*, in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 389.

The connection with the $\sigma\chi\acute{o}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is furnished by the name $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ given to the country between Syene and the island of Takompso: the inscriptions of Philæ and Dakkeh record the renewed grant of the 12 *ar*   to Isis of Philæ, stating that from Syene to Takompso it measures 12 *ar* on the east and 12 *ar* on the west, in all 24 *ar*. Strabo and others state that the *schoenus* varied in different parts of Egypt, and it is interesting to note that one of these inscriptions specifies the measure in question as the *ar*   $\wedge$ "of Isis," that is no doubt the local *schoenus* of Philæ, which if Takompso is placed at Maharraḳa, would be no less than $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles or over 70 stadia.*

A very interesting inscription published by Brugsch from the temple of Edfu, raises hopes (that are hardly realised) by giving an estimate of the length, breadth, and area of the Egyptian Nile valley : the first, from Elephantine, is 106 *aur*  $\wedge$ (= *ater*), the breadth          

was irrigated by the Nile: the measures in *ater* are probably not intended to represent the actual length and breadth of the land, but are rough *average* estimates from which to judge the area. From the round numbers of *ater*, the area is deduced likewise in round numbers of  (100,000) of *aruras*. This is the only explanation I can offer until further evidence is found; the priests seem to have over-estimated the area of the Egyptian Nile valley even when taken in its broadest sense, for 27,000,000 *arouras* mean about 73,918 square kilometres or 28,430 square miles, while Schweinfurth, who gives the length of Egypt proper as 550 miles, makes the cultivable area only 11,342 square miles: * this, it may be observed, implies an average breadth of only 20 miles: exaggeration on the part of a college of native priests, anxious to magnify the importance of the Nile, may be excused, but it must be confessed that the statements do not increase our respect for Græco-Egyptian geographical science.

SECTION II.—MEASURES OF AREA.

The areas of fields and countries were reckoned in squares of the *khet*, 100 royal cubits: such a square was called in Egyptian *set* and in Greek *arura*, and it was considered to be composed of 100 strips, each one cubit in breadth. The half arura was named *remen*, being the square of 100 of the linear *remen* of 5 palms in length. The square cubit, used in measuring small areas, is very rarely found.

Superficial field measure. The Rhind Papyrus includes a page† devoted to the art of reckoning field areas. The only measure of length used in this section is the  *khet*, which, in the plural, seems to be written   (No. 52, l. 12). The notation of the square measures is:—

| | |
|---|---|
| (11, etc.) | = 10 square  . |
|  ( , etc., to 9) = 1 | " " |
|  | = $\frac{1}{2}$ " " |
| × (hieratic) | = $\frac{1}{4}$ " " |
| ⌒ (hieratic) | = $\frac{1}{8}$ " " |

* Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 1st edition, p. 30.

† Pl. XVII with No. 48 on pl. XVI.

2 ARURA.

| Sq. Metres. | XX.
Pap.
 | Dyn. XX.
Harris Pap.
 | Demotic. | Greek. | Edfu,
c. 100 B.C.
 |
|-------------|--|--|------------|-----------------|---|
| 27,287 | 1 |  | ... | early
... |  |
| 2,7287 | |  | 1,3 | ἀρούρα | 1 |
| ... | | 9 | / | β |  |
| ... | | X | γ | ε |  |
| ... | | ... | Δ | η |  |
| ... | | ... | (1 = 2/16) | later also
ι |  |
| 85.27 | | ... | ... | λβ |  |
| 42.63 | | ... | ... | ξδ | ... |
| ... | | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 27.287 | | ... | ε.ε. 12 | πῆχυσ | ... |
| 13.643 | | ... | ... | ... | ... |

1

2

3

$$\text{𐀀}^* (\text{hieratic}) = \frac{10}{100} = \frac{1}{10} \text{ square } \text{𐀀}.$$

$$\text{𐀁} (\text{𐀁}, \text{etc., to } 10) = \frac{1}{100} \quad , \quad ,$$

$$/, \text{𐀂} \dagger (\text{hieratic}) = \frac{1}{200} \quad , \quad ,$$

The names of the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{100}$ are denoted by one sign (= 𐀀) in hieratic, but the comparative table given below shows that $\frac{1}{2}$ is 𐀀 at Edfu, whereas $\frac{1}{100}$ is 𐀀 "cubit of land," in a Ramesside Papyrus, and is therefore to be written 𐀀 "cubit." The hieratic for 𐀀 admits of many transcriptions.

The 𐀀 (for the square 𐀀) is 𐀀 in the hieratic: the transcription is obtained thus:—In No. 50 of the Rhind Papyrus, where the area of a circular field with a diameter 9 𐀀 is obtained by squaring $\frac{3}{4}$ of the diameter, the result of the multiplication is given as $8 \times 8 \text{ 𐀀} = 6 \text{ 𐀀}$: but in some cases one of the factors is first multiplied by 100 (producing 𐀁 instead of square 𐀀), and in the final result the *thousands* are entered as units, while the *hundreds* are placed under the curved line 𐀀. In a previous volume (XII, pp. 85–87) I have pointed out a measure of area 𐀀 (apparently with rounded ends) having a 10-multiple 𐀀 "a thousand": these measures 𐀀 and 𐀀 must thus be hieroglyphic equivalents for the 𐀀 and the 1 (= 1,000 𐀀, 10 𐀀) of the Rhind Papyrus; only instead of 𐀀 I prefer to use 𐀀, which has still better authority. The remaining signs cannot yet be transcribed.

It is clear that this complicated notation is rather clumsily made up from several units, namely: (1) the 𐀀 or square 𐀀; (2) the 𐀀, of which 1,000 make the 𐀀, or "thousand," and 100 the 𐀀; (3) the 𐀀, comprising 50 of the 𐀀, and equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 𐀀, and $\frac{1}{20}$ of the 𐀀.

* The two passages (No. 54) in which this occurs are so much blundered, that one suspects it to be simply a scribe's error for 𐀀: it exactly resembles the numeral 𐀀𐀀𐀀 "30," and 𐀀 actually occurs in No. 55.

† 𐀂 is the usual sign for $\frac{1}{2}$, and probably is incorrectly substituted for / by the careless scribe, just as he seems to have written the familiar 30 for 𐀀.

L.D., II, 3. 

L.D., II, 6.

L.D., II, 7. 

Thus in four of the above instances the system was that of the ☐ without a special multiple, in a fifth it is doubtful, as the number of ☐ does not reach 10, but in the sixth the 10-multiple ☐ is admitted.

At El Kab in the tomb of Sebek-nekht (XIIIth dynasty, L.D.,

III, 13b) we have  
 "lands, low-lying, 20 'thousands,' that
 which is on the high ground 120 of 'thousand of land,' total 140."
 Here 

A Kahun papyrus (XII-XIII dynasty) uses the $\text{I} (= \text{I})$, the II and the III : like the Rhind, for I it uses the

binary division of the ἀρούρα to $\frac{1}{18}$. The Greeks carried this a point further to $\frac{1}{24}$ during the Roman period.* For the demotic notation, compare Eisenlohr, p. 341 of the present volume.†

* Tessera Berlin, P. 158, *Rev. Eg.* VI, p. 11.

† Being obliged to quote this paper, I cannot pass over the hostile remarks upon p. 342. As to the Kahun papyri, I hope to publish them soon *in extenso*; meanwhile, if the Professor will take the trouble to refer to the story of Sanehat, L.D. VI, 104, l. 123, he will see the sign  (in the word  "bull") resembling in essential points the  of the Ebers cartouche. What is more distressing is that the Professor should have thought it necessary to defend his "priority" against my "pretensions," and to call attention to it more than once. This "priority" which is so highly valued is, on p. 597 of vol. xiii, shown to lie in the comparison of certain symbols in the Ebers papyrus with those of the *hekt* in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus. It would have been an unparalleled feat in the annals of decipherment if a Professor, who spent so many years in preparing an edition of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, had failed to see a resemblance between the symbols of measurement contained in it and the *identical* symbols in the magnificent Ebers papyrus, the publication of which took place while he was in the midst of these studies, and caused such a sensation in the world of Egyptology. I did not notice his printed remark on the subject, otherwise I might certainly have mentioned it for the sake of completeness. This little "ewe lamb" of the Professor is, however, so minute that no one but himself could have detected its presence in the alien fold. My object in writing on the Metrology of the Ebers papyrus was to explain the whole system: Eisenlohr's remarks show how little he understands the metrology which he is supposed to have studied so long, but which he must have almost forgotten in the midst of other occupations. If any scholar had addressed himself for a month or so to the serious study of the texts, he might surely have explained almost the whole system of Egyptian metrology, which has so long stood in need of interpretation: when once the grammar and writing is understood, the greater part of the work consists in merely putting 2 and 2 together in simple arithmetic. I am as much astounded at the subject having been left so long in obscurity, as at the Professor's insisting upon his claim to priority in a mere comparison of forms, which was perfectly obvious and might or might not mean something. He was not and is not aware that there were double and quadruple *hekt* having the *same series of symbols* (and *besha*!) is still his reading for *hekt*), although they occur so conspicuously in the Rhind Papyrus. Professor Eisenlohr's labours have undoubtedly thrown much light on Egyptian metrology and arithmetic: if some remark of mine as to improving the commentary on the Rhind Papyrus (of which his edition was excellent for the time, 1877) hurt his feelings, I am sorry for it, and I beg to assure him that it was quite unintentional.

I hope that this defence will not have the effect of preventing the Professor from criticising the present paper, for I am sure that if his interest in metrology should revive, the result would be a gain to science. The subject is in fact still capable of almost daily development.

Dynasty XVIII. Thothmes I, El Kab, L.D., III, 12. c. 

nm 
nm da. 12 d, l. 22

Dynasty XVIII. Thothmes III, Karnak. *Br. Mus.*, 1288 =
Marianne, Karnak, Pl. XV, R. 38, 39.   

eeee 
eeee 

Dynasty XVIII. Thothmes III, Médun, hieratic graffito 


Dynasty XIX. Seti I. Destr. des Hommes 
 for ? The hieratic form of  has here been retained in the hieroglyphs, thus offering a parallel to the ,  for the "palm."

Dynasty XIX. Rameses II. Berlin Papyrus 

Dynasty XX. Harris Papyrus  and 

Dynasty XXV. Louvre Stela   (III).

Dynasty XXVI. Louvre Stela  (n) in a formal record.

Ditto " Statue A 93.   in an archaistic inscription.

Ptolemy V. Naucratis Stela  

Ptolemy XI Alexander I, Edfu Temple   , or numerals only.

The name is *set*, usually written , in which the sign of land is combined with the measuring rope. I cannot explain why the jackal appears in , , .  *sata* is probably

* There can be no doubt of the correctness in the main of Prof. Brugsch's restoration here. The use of the  and  in this fine inscription is a link connecting the old style with the new.

† No. VIII, l. 7, in Mr. Petrie's *Medun*, Pl. XXXIV.

‡ Lefebure, tombeau de Seti I, Pl. XV, XVI.

only a false *basse-époque* spelling of *set*, formed on the analogy of  .   means "land," or "fields;" it is not a part of the name, but is usually specified before the field measure for the sake of clearness.

The divisions are binary, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, after which the  or  becomes the unit, but the Edfu text substitutes for the last a continuation of the binary divisions down to $\frac{1}{32}$. In discussing the linear field measures, I shall show that these divisions were, in practice, taken right across the *arura* , but the names are sometimes more easily explained by other diagrams.

The sign  *remen*,  at Edfu, for the half *arura* is remarkable. We must connect it with the  *remen*, "upper arm (?)" of the cubit rods, this being of 5 palms, while the royal cubit is 7 palms, so that sq.  : sq.  :: 25 : 49, practically $\frac{1}{2} : 1$. While the

arura was a square of 100 cubits , the *remen* was a square of 100   treated as a rectangle forming half (50 cubits length) of the *arura* . The presence of the sign  there-

fore increases the probability of the basal cubit being the *royal* cubit of 20.6 inches; an allied sign  appears on the rods at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the *short* cubit; but $(\frac{2}{3})^2$ or $\frac{4}{9}$ is too far from $\frac{1}{2}$ to cause any uneasiness on that head.

The $\frac{1}{4}$, named  *hesep* at Edfu, in hieratic is represented by $\times$, the usual symbol for $\frac{1}{4}$. The diagram would be  for the *set* divided into four *hesep*. The sign  for $\frac{1}{8}$ *arura*,  at Edfu, indicates the *half* of some measure, superficial or linear, probably the superficial *hesep*, so that the *hesep* would be .

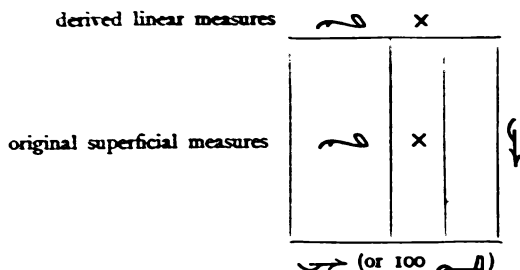
*Linear field measures.** In a tomb at Anibe (L.D., III, 229 c,

* These linear measures are so intimately connected with the measures of area from which they are derived, that to group them with the latter needs no apology.

XXth dynasty) the extent of certain estates is represented by notched rectangles , , while others , , and , collectively amount to . Thus each space between the notches denotes 1 , and the second picture, in which the sides are divided, probably indicates  i.e., 10 units. Although the tomb is not in Egypt proper but in Ethiopia, without doubt the unit is the *ar* or *aporia*. The linear and superficial field-measures were so closely connected and so far interchangeable that finding  for  (the square ) is not at all surprising.

Amongst the subdivisions of the *arura* we have seen that $\frac{1}{100}$ is named "cubit" after the length of its base in the side of the *arura*: the *ar* being denoted by  at Anibe stands on precisely the same footing. By a reverse process binary subdivisions of the  in land-measuring are designated by the names of the rectangles of area which would be described upon them in the side of the *arura*, so that for instance  at Edfu can mean either $\frac{1}{4}$  or $\frac{1}{4}$ . It is clear that the three names of these linear subdivisions are derived from the superficial and not the superficial from the linear, for how else is the  for $\frac{1}{2}$  linear and $\frac{1}{2}$  superficial to be explained?

For the Rhind Papyrus (Pl. XVII, Nos. 53, 54) in which the use of these linear subdivisions of the  is very scanty, we can draw the following diagram of the *aporia* as the type used in practice. No doubt the side, like the square itself, should be further subdivided to $\frac{1}{2}$, and the subdivision of the  into 100 cubit lengths is amply vouched for by calculations in which the number of  on one side only is first multiplied by 100.



For Edfu we might construct a similar diagram showing the divisions, linear and superficial, down to $\frac{1}{32}$. Instances of their use are extremely plentiful: I need only give the names—

 of the *arura* and *khet*.

In the Edfu system the *set* would be theoretically  by quartering the *hesep*, making 16  *su*, and of the  the half was named  *rema*, meaning perhaps "the new fraction." Later still in a Greek document the quartered quarter is again quartered, reaching the $\frac{1}{64}$ of the *arura*.

The "cubit of land" *meh*, *meh-ta*, is written :

Dynasty XVI. Rhind Math. Pap.  ; $\frac{1}{2} = \text{ / , } \text{ / }.$

Dynasty XIX. Berlin Pap.  ; $\frac{1}{2} = \text{ — }.$

In the Greek papyri it is simply $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ (explained in 1828 by Amadeo Peyron), in the demotic  *meh aten*, "cubit of land." * Its type form is $1 \times 100 = 100$ square cubits, its half being 50 square cubits. It was probably

also treated as the square of 10 cubits :  , but for this we have no definite evidence.

The *apôupa* being made up of 100 of these cubit strips, the  contained 50, the $\times$ 25, and the $\angle$ $12\frac{1}{2}$. No lower subdivision than the $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit was recognised,† so that the binary subdivision of the *arura* could not be carried further than $\frac{1}{8}$, except by abandoning the cubit system as was done at Edfu and by the later Greeks.

The square cubit. Areas not being field measures are usually denoted by two linear dimensions, or by the diameter in the case of a circular space. At Hammamât the well known inscription of Henu, dating from the reign of Sankhkara (XIth dynasty) records among other things

* Revillout, in this volume, pp. 66 and 237, note 35.

† i.e., in land measuring [but see "Kahun" in the table with $\frac{1}{4}$].

1 cubit

50 cubits

100 cubits

Diagram
of the cubit
of land.

SECTION III.—MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

The principal measure was the *hekt* (equal to $\frac{1}{30}$ of the cubit cubed), on which a most elaborate system of multiples and subdivisions was built. For corn the *khar*, "sack," of 20 *hekt* was superseded at or before the XVIIIth dynasty by the 𓆎 "sack" of 16 *hekt*, called by the Greeks *medimnus*. The *medimnus*, probably after the Macedonian conquest, was halved to form the *artabe*, which was thenceforth the principal corn measure in Egypt. For liquids and solids alike, the *henu*, $\frac{1}{16}$ of the *hekt*, was commonly used. Many other measures existed.

a. The *khar*.

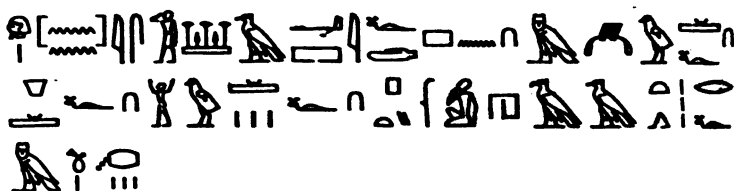
This measure, hitherto unnoticed, is likely to prove an important one. The word first* appears in the Westcar Papyrus XII, 4, as 𓆎 1, and in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus several times on Pl. XV, XVI, (namely, No. 41, 3; No. 43, 3, 4; No. 44, 3) as 𓆎 (plural): the last-named document makes it $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cubit cubed, which at 20.6 inches to the cubit would give 5827.88 cubic inches or about 21 gallons ($2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels, 97 litres) as the modern equivalent of the *khar*: the determinative would imply that it was sometimes made of hide, and therefore sack-shaped. In the Westcar Papyrus XI, 1, Ra-user offers the disguised deities in return for their good services 𓆎 | "one (measure) of corn,"† "let me give this one (measure) of corn to your baggage carrier," and in the sequel we find this measure of corn once specified as a *khar*, as follows: the gods having put some magical instruments "into the measure of corn," request Ra-user to keep it for them until they come northward again: afterwards, a servant is sent to take some of the corn, but on opening the door of the sealed

* The 𓆎 | Asyût Tomb I l. 292, "caldron (?)," must not be confused with the *khar*; cf. Le Page Renouf, *Proc.*, VII, p. 102, 104, for the reading: (for the 𓆎 fish, see Mr. Petrie's *Medum*, Pl. XII, and p. 38, in which certainty is at length arrived at).

† This group must be carefully distinguished from 𓆎 |, i.e., 10 *hekt*, see below.

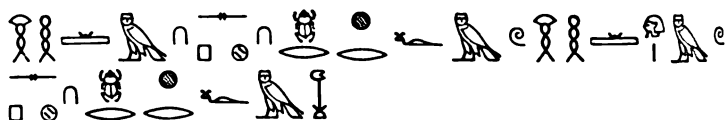
chamber in which it lies, hears music and dancing. Her mistress then comes into the room and hunts about without discovering where the sound comes from until she puts "her forehead to the *khar*;" then, finding that the music, etc., was going on inside it she puts it in a box, etc., etc. The *khar* is thus evidently identical with the "corn, one (measure)" or with a sack or other receptacle containing it. That "corn, one" should denote the *khar*, shows the great importance of the latter in practical life. The determinative 𓆎 seems to be appropriate to sacks, baskets, etc.

I find no trace of this measure after the Middle Kingdom: its latest appearance is in the calculations of the contents of granaries in the Rhind Papyrus: to take an instance, the example No. 44 on Pl. XVI is as follows:—



tp [n] nās šāā(?) $\dot{\text{a}}$ ft (n mt m) fu-f mt, ush-f mt, qau-f mt: pti hāt
rf m šs?

Chapter (?) of reckoning a granary square (of 10, in*) its length 10, its breadth 10, its height 10: what is the amount that is put into it in corn?



uah m mt sp mt, hpr hr-f m šāā(?): uah tp m šāā(?)sp mt, hpr
hr-f m ḥa.

Count (?) 10 ten times, it becomes 100: count (?) 100 ten times, it becomes 1000.



ār hr-k kš n ḥa m tuā-n-šāā(?), hpr hr-f m ḥa tuā-n-šāā(?): ḥṫf
pu m ḥaru.

* These three words are superfluous and should be omitted.

the far more complicated *pefsu* of bread. Thus $\bigcirc = \bigcirc$ in the *pefsu*-entries.

Dynasty I—VIII. I do not recollect any mention of the $\bigcirc$ on the monuments of the Old Memphite Kingdom.

Dynasty IX—XIII. In the inscriptions I can only point to $\bigcirc$, mentioned at Asyût, Tomb V, l. 9 (Xth dynasty) and $\bigcirc$ Asyût Tomb I, l. 279, possibly = $\bigcirc$ l. 281, 309 (XIIth dynasty).

In the papyri we have, as headings for the figures and symbols of the series, from Kahun (XII—XIIIth dynasty) $\bigcirc$, $\bigcirc$ and perhaps other forms: in the Theban papyrus of accounts (Boulaq, No. 18, XIIIth dynasty) $\bigcirc$.

The papyri of this period display a special notation in connection with the *hekt*: thus $\bigcirc$, $\bigcirc$, etc., stand for 100, 200, etc., up to any number (e.g., $\bigcirc = 5,000$ *hekt*: fractions of this 100-multiple $\frac{1}{2}$ (= 50), $\frac{1}{4}$ (= 25), and perhaps rarely $\frac{1}{8}$ * (= 33 $\frac{1}{3}$) are placed after the $\bigcirc$ if that is expressed, otherwise they can stand alone. ($\times = 25$ *hekt*, $\bigcirc \times = 125$ *hekt*): 10 and 20 *hekt* are ($\bigcirc$) 1, 11: and 1, 2, 3, etc., up to 9 are ., .., ∴, etc.

These multiples are ignored in hieroglyphics, e.g., in Thothmes III's record of Usertesen III's gifts at Semneh, *L.D.*, III, 55, a, which no doubt reproduces the figures of the XIIth dynasty. The hieratic notation must in fact be due to the method of counting. Each $\bigcirc$ would be represented by a spot •, the spots being arranged in vertical columns of 10 each, and the columns cut in half by a dividing line, making 5 and 5, $\begin{smallmatrix} \vdots \\ \hline \vdots \end{smallmatrix}$. If 10 such columns were completed the result would be a square of 100 spots $\begin{smallmatrix} \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \\ \hline \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{smallmatrix}$. Each square completed would be denoted by 1 $\bigcirc$; if 5 columns only were made up the entry was $\bigcirc$, as being half of the square; if 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ columns $\times$, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the square.† Also, one column would be 1, two columns 11, while the superfluous units remained as spots. That count-

* $\frac{1}{8}$ occurs once in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus.

† The rare $\frac{1}{8}$, usually avoided, would be a later refinement of arithmetic.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. |
|-------------|---|----|----|-------------------|
| Besha*-corn |  4, 1, 5 (=40) | | | (together=40). |
| Dates |  4, 1, 5 (=40) | | | (together=40). |
| Grain |  1, (=10) | 5 | 2½ | 2½ (together=10). |
| Meal |  1, (=10) | 5 | 2½ | 2½ (together=10). |
| Total |  =100 hekt. | | | |

The column *a* gives the whole amount to which three different *uart* or offices contribute *b*, *c*, *d*.

Dynasty XVI. The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus is the only document, and a very valuable one. It makes the ,  and , equal to 10 *henu* in Pl. XXII, Nos. 81, 82; Pl. XXIII, No. 83. Eisenlohr succeeded in discovering the values of the multiples and divisions of the  from the evidence contained in its pages.

At this period we find developed a double *hekt*, a quadruple *hekt*, and possibly a triple *hekt*, with precisely the same elaborate system of notation as that used for the single *hekt*, and distinguished from that only by the different heading.

1. The double *hekt*, written  , is used in No. 82 in reckoning the cost (?) or the food (?) of domestic birds.

E.g., No. 82, ll. 10, 11,

| | |
|---|---|
|      |       |
|      |       |

l. 10 ar m šs (?) m hqt. $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} 8 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} 1 \frac{1}{16}$

* The word *besha* has often been wrongly taken as the name of one or more of the  measures: if I did not mention this, the metrological reader might be puzzled to know whether the measures dealt with in this section had ever been discussed before.

3. About the quadruple *hekt* there can be no such doubt. It is written $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$, $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$, $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$, "quadruple *hekt*" (Pl. XV, XVI, Nos. 41-47), $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$, "great quadruple *hekt*" (Pl. XX, No. 69).^{*} It is used especially in the computation of granaries, in which 1 $\bigcirc$, or the square of 100 of these, is made equal to 20 *khar*.[†] The notation is of course the same as for the $\bigcirc$ but once by accident the 100-multiple is written @ $\bigcirc$ instead of 1 $\bigcirc$ (No. 68, 2).

There is no difficulty in ascertaining whether the single, double, or quadruple unit is intended in any series, for the unit is always written conspicuously before the figures and symbols, unless the meaning is implied by the context: the single unit of course has the preference.

The wording of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, Pl. XV, XVI, of which an example is given above, "75, that is the number of quadruple *hekt*, namely 7,500 quadruple $\bigcirc$," would imply that the *hekt* $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ is the 100-multiple of the $\bigcirc$. If a distinction is to be drawn it must be between the $\bigcirc$ and the $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ on the one hand, and the $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ on the other: for the $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ is certainly not a 100-multiple in the *pefsu* (p. 424). On the other hand it is impossible to distinguish the $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ from the $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$, as they are interchangeable as "headings" in the hieratic of dynasty XII-XIII, and the $\overbrace{1111}^{\Delta}$ $\bigcirc$ is the unit in the inscription of Thothmes. III, when recording in ancient style the large amounts of corn given by Usertesen III. The largest ordinary unit would of course be chosen for this purpose.

^{*} Perhaps $\circ\circ\circ\circ$ should be substituted for 1111 in all the above.

[†] On calculation it can easily be ascertained from the four equations, (1) *henu* = about 2½ cubic inches, (2) 40 *henu* = quadruple *hekt*, (3) 100 quadruple *hekt* = 20 *khar*, (4) *khar* = ½ cubit cubed, that the cubit referred to is the ordinary royal cubit of about 20.6 inches, and cannot be either of the others of which traces are found in Egypt, viz., the small cubit of 17 inches and the 25-inch cubit, for which see Flinders Petrie's article on *Weights and Measures*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition. See above, p. 406.

I conclude, therefore, that the scribe uses a rather inaccurate, but perfectly intelligible abbreviation of language, in saying that "75 is the number of quadruple *akt*," when the truth is that 75 is the number of complete squares (of 100 each) of the quadruple *akt*, an amount which would be written on papyrus .

but in monumental hieroglyphics            .

Dynasty XVIII. The inscriptions now come to our aid. On her obelisk at Karnak, Prisse, *Mém.*, Pl. XVIII, L. D., III, 24, the Queen Hat-shepsut records that she "measured gold in  the corn,                  ." In a tomb we find a picture of weighing gold                    "that (had been measured) according to  (making) 36, 693 *aten*." At the temple of Semneh, L. D., III, 554, Thothmes III records that Usertesen III had made endowments of corn                   with small quantities of ,* *i.e.*,         for certain purposes, the amounts being given in ; but this, as we shall see, was an obsolete method at the time, and is therefore interesting as giving what is probably the notation of the inscriptions of the XIIth dynasty; no special multiples are used, though the numbers of  rise over hundreds; fractions unfortunately do not occur.

The statistical inscriptions of Thothmes III at Karnak (L. D., III, 30-32) make use of the    for incense (       and [                ) without special multiples (30 b, l. 33, 31 a, l. 9), but for corn                 the quadruple unit, written  with a new multiple of it by four written  (32, l. 31) which is of course equal to 16 . In the inscriptions of about the same period published by

* The proportion of *hi* to *at* *rs* in each case is very small, and where the amount of *at* *rs* is not large there is no *hi*. It has been thought that  in this passage was the name of a measure. Chabas started the idea in 1867, when scarcely a single fact about the corn measures was known or *could* be ascertained. Unfortunately in the general confusion this opinion still holds its ground.

Dümichen, *Kalender-Inschriften*, Pl. XXXIX, we find the double  written  for corn (?), and for the notation of *psu* (proportion of loaves to a measure of corn), the .

Turning to the Louvre Papyrus No. 3326 (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, pp. 1079-1106), of the same reign, we see dates, , measured in the  with its multiple  and subdivisions as before. The only change from the system of the  in the Mathematical Papyrus is the very important one of substituting the  or multiple by four, for the multiples by 10 and 100 (columns and squares, | and | ); in other respects the notation is the same.*

The Medical Papyri deserve a separate paragraph, which may be inserted here, as the principal document dates from the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty. All of them make use of the symbols of subdivision of the single *hekt* (without specifying the unit), but the  does not occur. The cubic quarter is the most usual amount to prescribe, and forms an important unit by itself; when in a mixture of several ingredients a cubic quarter is prescribed of each, the Ebers (XVIIIth dynasty) and Berlin (XIX) indicate the amount simply by the numeral 1, but the early Kahun Papyrus (dynasty XII-XIII) retains the hieratic symbol  (= ). The Ebers and Berlin Papyri use multiples of the , the former sometimes giving numerals only, while the Berlin always writes  with the numerals; they also subdivide it to the quarter. For the details see *Proceedings*, XIII, pp. 392-406, 526-530 and the table on pp. 536-538.†

* But 2 (quadruple) *hekt* are denoted by : instead of .. The  which occurs sometimes is only the determinative of the word  repeated instead of the whole word; the unit is the .

† On p. 537 for $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8}$ (?) read ($\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8}$). I am now sure that the fractions of the *henu* would not be combined with those of the *hekt* in one group, so $\times \}$ must mean $1\frac{1}{2}$  (= $\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{8} \text{ hekt} = 12\frac{1}{2} r$), not  + $\frac{1}{8} \text{ henu}$; 1. 8 of p. 537 can therefore be omitted.

Dynasty XIX. Fragments of a calendrical list of offerings of **Rameses II** at Medinet Habu have been discovered by Dümichen, who has published his copies in the *Opferfestliste*, Pl. I-III. The parallel text of **Rameses III** shows that the unit of measurement is of 40 *hnu*, i.e., quadruple. The copy gives sometimes , sometimes ; possibly both these forms are correct. There is the 4-multiple , and for almost every detail the remarks below on the calendar of **Rameses III** can be applied to that of **Rameses II**. The Rollin Papyri of the Bibliothèque Nationale (published by Pleyte), which date from the reign of Seti I, give a unit written  (unless  be a separate word), its quarter (presumably the , not the ) denoted by dots, and the symbols of the fractions. In the well-known D'Orbiney Papyrus the younger brother carries the enormous load of 5  of corn.

Dynasty XX. The elaborately recorded list of offerings of **Rameses III** at Medinet Habu contains a quantity of valuable material for the metrologist, but the copies hitherto published leave much to be desired as to correctness. The *pefsu* entries (see above p. 424) and the occurrence of the  imply the quadruple  as the basis throughout, and on Pl. II of Dümichen's *Kalender-Inschriften* from the same text we have the  = 40 *hnu*. It seems probable that *apt* is a new name invented for the quadruple unit, instead of the "4-*hekt*" or "great *hekt*," which had served in earlier days: until a more minutely precise copy sets doubt at rest, we may assume that this *apt* or quadruple *hekt* (written ) is the unit all through. We find the 4-multiple , and the divisions down to $\frac{1}{8}$ supplemented in some places by the  and its fractions, in others (Pl. XIX, XX) by a decimal division $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{40}$, probably equal to 8, 4, 2, 1 *hnu* respectively; or if the unit is the , 2, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ *hnu*. The details will be found in a previous paper, *Proceedings*, XIII, pp. 530-534. I need only add that instead of the special symbol  for $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  is sometimes used in the list where there are no other fractions to follow e.g., Pl. XI, .

The Harris Papyrus I, for incense, etc., uses the ☉ without multiples, (with the subdivision $\Delta = \frac{1}{2}$, e.g., 70, b, 6), but for corn and salt the ☉^{III} , with the multiple 𐀀 and the subdivision Δ , e.g., 54, a, II. The unit ☉^{III} must be the quadruple - *hekt*, or *āpt*.

We have now traced the history of the ☉ measures as exemplified in numerous documents from the XIIth to the XXth dynasty, a period embracing perhaps 1500 years. At first we find the *hekt* system of notation, already elaborately developed, used as a general measure for solids and even for liquids, but more especially for corn and other common vegetable foods. In the Hyksos period we find the unit doubled and quadrupled, yet for general purposes the single *hekt* still holds its ground. With the New Kingdom, however, the peculiar notation for multiples is dropped, the single *hekt* gives way to the quadruple *hekt* (now called the *āpt*) for bulky food-products, and the 𐀀 , a further multiple by four, forming part of the series, seems to drive out the *khar*, an independent unit of nearly the same value (5 quadruple *hekt*). It is perhaps not too fanciful to see derivatives from the words 𐀀 , "rule," and $\text{𐀀}^{\square}$, part of the capital city of Thebes, in the names of the first and second leading measures *hekt*, 𐀀 , and *āpt*, $\text{𐀀}^{\square}$; the reading of the third 𐀀 is quite unknown.

A text of Shashank I at Karnak (Brugsch, *Thes.*, V, p. 1229) possibly indicates a reversion from the quadruple to the single *hekt* ☉ for corn measures in the XXIIInd dynasty. The fractional symbols and the dimidiated tenths, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{40}$, ($1, \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}$ *henu*?) are used.

In Ptolemaic times the system of measures was most completely changed, while preserving a few relics of Pharaonic usage. According to well-known data,* the "Ptolemaic medimnus" of Didymus = about 78·78 litres; this makes about 160 to 165 *henu*, or 1 𐀀 . It seems as if the Græco-Egyptians had borrowed a Greek name and applied it to an ancient Egyptian measure of different value from the Attic *medimnus*. Didymus also gives the

* Hultsch, *Griech. und Rom. Metrologie*, 2nd ed., p. 284.

old (*i.e.*, Ptolemaic) *artabe* as half of this medimnus,* so = 80 *henu* or 8 *hekt*. This equation we actually find in the new text of the Rosetta inscription which was dug up at Kûm Ga'êf, in the great temenos of Naucratis (*Rec. de Trav.*, VI, 1 ff., *Naucratis*, II, p. 83). Here, in l. 30, $\begin{array}{c} \text{?} \\ \text{|||} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{|||} \\ \text{|||} \end{array}$ corresponds to the Greek $\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\beta\eta\varsigma$. The cutting of the text is very bad: the mason should have written $\begin{array}{c} \text{|||} \\ \text{|||} \end{array}$ instead of $\begin{array}{c} \text{|||} \\ \text{||} \end{array}$, but the number remains correct. The *artabe* was probably an importation from Persia,† modified to suit the ||| .

The chief measures dealt with above are:

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|--|--|
| ancient | | ($\frac{1}{2}$ cubit cubed) = 5 quadruple | } = 20 <i>hekt</i> = 200 <i>henu</i> , |
| | | <i>hekt</i> or <i>apt</i> | |
| later | | = 4 <i>apt</i> | = 16 <i>hekt</i> = 160 <i>henu</i> , |
| later | | <i>apt</i> | = 4 <i>hekt</i> = 40 <i>henu</i> , |
| ancient and later | | | <i>hekt</i> = 10 <i>henu</i> . |

It has been the custom of metrologists to derive measures of capacity from the cubit cubed. There have not hitherto been materials available for applying the theory to Egyptian measures with any prospect of true results; Mr. Petrie ‡ alone saw through the prodigious fallacy of making the 20 cubits cubed = 100 quadruple *hekt*, or 100 *besha*, as the measure was formerly termed: this fallacy, drawn from a misinterpretation of the Rhind Papyrus, has been a leading datum in three considerable treatises.

The ancients would not necessarily make the cubit cubed, or any other cube, the standard of quantity; if standard measures were required, they might have been cylindrical like the ordinary measuring vessels depicted in the granary scenes, but of a fixed diameter and depth: on the other hand, the occurrence of a cubic quarter (denoted in hieratic by a special sign ||| , which clearly indicates the quartering process) as the termination of a dimidiated

* Possibly the ancient ||| = *medimnus* is to be seen in the common formula of repetition which ensured the accuracy of important amounts in demotic documents.

$\text{?} \text{|||} \text{|||} \text{|||} \text{|||}$

4 *artabae*, making 2 (*medimni* ?) making 4 *artabae* again; compare this volume, p. 235. (The proper demotic sign for 4 is not in the fount.)

† Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, p. 485, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

‡ *l.c.*, p. 485.

series of fractions of the ☉ , is a most important piece of evidence in favour of a cubic standard. Yet the ☉ would represent a cube of about 6·7 inches, which cannot, so far as I can see, be connected with the divisions of the cubit.

The double, treble (?), and quadruple *hekt* merely retained as derivatives the system of the single *hekt*, but the division of the *henu*, down to the $\frac{1}{64}$ (in the Ebers Papyrus), may have been independent. The *henu* as a cube would have a side of nearly 3·1 inch. Probably the cubic idea was introduced long after the measures had become fixed by custom.

Besides the vases which are marked as containing multiples of the *henu*, the capacity of that measure can be checked by several working equivalents given in the Egyptian texts, which may or may not be intended as exact. Ptolemaic texts,* as Chabas pointed out, give the weight of a *henu* of wine or water as 5 *utens*, of honey as $7\frac{1}{2}$ *utens*, and the Rhind Papyrus, making the *khar* $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cubit cubed, leads to the equation, 300 *henu* = cubit cubed. It is noteworthy that the *henu* was often divided by 3, 6, etc., as well as by 2, 4. In the Ebers papyrus there is the dimidiated series of fractions to $\frac{1}{64}$: a vase with the name of Thothmes III is marked $7\frac{1}{4}$ *henu*, but another is $8\frac{1}{6}$, and in the Calendar of Rameses III (Düm., *Kal.*, Pl. II) we find $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, as well as $\frac{1}{2}$; and in the Edfu texts there is a measure $\text{☉} = \frac{1}{3}$ of the *henu*. This makes it all the more probable that the fractions $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ which occur rarely in the Ebers papyrus, also refer to the *henu*. (See *Proc.* XIII, p. 401.)

SECTION IV.—WEIGHTS.

In early times there were probably several units of weight for various metals: later, probably in the XVIIIth Dynasty, the *uten* of 1400–1500 grains with the *kiti* of 140–150 grains became the only unit recognised in documents. The *value* of objects was often reckoned in a certain weight of metal, gold, silver, or copper.

The texts which have given so much information on the measures of Ancient Egypt are disappointingly silent on the subject of weights. That the art of weighing was known in Egypt from the earliest historic times, is proved incontestibly by the ancient stone weight,† now in the collection of Mr. Hilton Price, upon which is

* Dümichen, *Geog. Insch.*, II (Brugsch, *Recueil*, IV), Pl. LXXXIII.

† No. 1 below.

engraved the cartouche of Chufu. Balances are figured in the tombs of the Vth, XIth, XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties; there is the well known vignette of weighing the soul in the *Book of the Dead*, and some Middle Kingdom texts are full of references to justice as typified by the equipoise of the balance. Yet when we search through the inscriptions and papyri, we find only one reference to weights before the XVIIIth dynasty.

This silence however is not without its teaching: the Medical Papyri show no signs of the use of weights in Pharmacy, and even in the XVIIIth dynasty it appears that the only substances ordinarily weighed are minerals—gold, silver, copper, and lapis lazuli. In later times, incense, and in Ptolemaic times honey and drugs may be safely added to the list. Bartering gold and silver must have led to the invention of the scales, and it was only by slow degrees that weighing was applied to an ever widening range of practical and scientific uses.

The subject of weights is invested with a special interest, owing to its connection with coinage, and in Ancient Egypt to its connection with the use of metals as a medium of exchange long before the invention of stamped money. It is not known how far back into antiquity true money, *i.e.*, pieces of metal of definite weight and value for use in exchange, can be traced. About the time of the XVIIIth dynasty we know that the precious metals were kept in dust, in ingots, and in ornamental forms, but more especially in rings, and it is almost certain that the important weight-name  *uten* has the root-meaning of a ring or coiled wire. It is well known not only that the metals were bought and sold by weight, but further, that goods of all kinds might be valued at a certain weight of metal in order to be exchanged against each other.*

The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, dating from the Hyksos period,† offers the earliest example of the metals as a medium of exchange. On Pl. XIX, No. 62, we read:—

* Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 657. Chabas, *Recherches sur les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies*.

† The use of the double and quadruple *hekt* in the measures of capacity makes it almost certain that a large portion of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus dates originally from the Hyksos period, and was not copied from writings of the XIIth dynasty. I must note with regret that my attempt to transpose the two halves of the papyrus is no improvement; the original arrangement of Dr. Birch and Eisenlohr must be reverted to. The study printed on p. 328 of Vol. XIII was in several respects premature.



tp? n ārt qrf̄t ḥr āat āsat. Mā t'ṯ-nk; qrf̄t nb ām-s ḥt'ām-s
t'ḥti ām-s, āu ān-tu qrf̄t tn ḥr šāti ḥtm 84, pti nti n āat nbt.

āu ār ṯṯt ḥr nb uṯn ḥtmu 12 pu, ḥt' ḥtmu 6 pu, t'ḥti uṯn ḥtmu 3
pu : ṯmṯ ḥr-k ṯṯt ḥr ḥtm n āat nbt, ḥpr ḥr 21 : ār ḥr-k pa 21 r ḫmt
ḥtm 84, ānit pu m qrf̄t tn, ḥpr ḥr m 4 ṯṯ-k n āat nbt.

This example is so full of uncertainties that I am obliged to write out three versions, but its importance is such that one cannot afford to neglect it.

Chapter(?) of buying(?) a carpet(?) with various minerals (*i.e.*,

Example of making a bag? of various minerals

Example of making up a purse? with various minerals

metals), as is said to thee a carpet gold for it, silver for it, lead for it,
as is said to thee a bag gold in it, silver in it, lead in it,
as is said to thee a purse gold in it, silver in it, lead in it,

this carpet is to be sold for 84 pieces of *shati*, how much is (required)
 this bag is valued at 84 pieces of *shati*, how much is there
 this purse is to buy 84 pieces of goods, how much is (required)
 of each metal?

As to what is given for an *uten* of gold it is 12 pieces, an (*uten* of) silver it is 6 pieces, an *uten* of lead it is 3 pieces: add thou together that which is given for a piece (*i.e.*, an *uten*) of each metal, it becomes 21 (pieces): count thou 21 to make 84 pieces, which is

the amount to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pay for this carpet} \\ \text{be worked into this bag} \\ \text{be bought by this purse} \end{array} \right\}$ it becomes 4* pieces which thou givest of each metal.

A prime difficulty is to decide whether *art qrfi* means "buy a kerfet," "construct a kerfet" of various precious materials, or "make up a money-bag," *i.e.*, a sum of money to buy goods of a certain value. The second difficulty lies in *shati*, which may denote generally the goods to be bought, or may be a real or imaginary substance used as a *common measure* for the *utens* of all the metals.

The word $\text{Q} \text{I} \overline{\text{III}}$ (plural used with singular (?) numerals† $\text{Q} \overline{\text{III}}$) is an important one. Q at Edfu means a "parcel of land" of any size or shape as a separate piece of property, and $\text{Q} \text{I}$, if I am not mistaken, occurs at Kahun with the same meaning. In the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus No. 67, $\text{Q} \text{I} \overline{\text{XVI}}$ means "heads of oxen," and here in No. 62 $\text{Q} \text{I} \overline{\text{III}}$ is a unit of value for *shati*, and stands once for the *uten* of the metals gold, silver, and lead. Beyond this I need only draw attention to the fact that the values of the *utens* of gold, silver, and lead respectively and of the piece of *shati* are in the proportion 12 : 6 : 3 : 1.

We next meet with valuations in metal units in papyri of the time of Amenhotep III (XVIIIth dynasty). The Bulak Papyrus No. 11 (Mariette, *Papyrus de Boulaq*, Tome II, Pl. 3) gives a long list of provisions, supplied with values in $\text{Q} \text{I} \overline{\text{III}}$ "pieces," $\overline{\text{III}} \text{Q} \text{I} \overline{\text{III}}$, "pieces of gold," and $\text{Q} \overline{\text{III}}$ $\text{Q} \overline{\text{III}}$, "pieces of silver," and half

* 21 is counted 4 times in 84.

† Plural with 12, 6 and 3; singular with 84. Compare the Hebrew usage. The reason is no doubt the same as for the Hebrew, that the numeral 80 had a plural form.

pieces frequently occur. The first of these is shown by various remarks to stand for "piece of silver," and in the fifth line of the first column we are given the valuable equation 5 silver pieces = 3 gold pieces. These "pieces" are presumably the *utens* of the Rhind Papyrus. Thus since the Hyksos period gold had become less valuable in comparison to silver, and if *shati* was a common measure in the Hyksos period, it was now useless from that point of view. From Kahun there are two papyri,* dating from the reign of Amenhotep III, which value articles in "pieces," presumably of silver. In one of these an ox  is valued at one "piece."

We hear nothing of these gold and silver "pieces" in later papyri: the *uten* of copper, with its half and quarter, is traceable as the unit of value in papyri of the XIXth dynasty, and abounds as "*uten*" or "copper *uten*" in the accounts of the XXth dynasty: from these we learn that the  of corn was worth 2 *uten*, an ox  119 *uten*, an ass 40 *uten*. In the XXIInd dynasty land at Abydos was leased or sold at the rate of 10 *arouras* to an *uten* of silver, and 360 *henu* of honey were paid for by 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ *uten* of silver,† while an earlier ostrakon values 5 *henu* of honey at 4 *utens* (of copper). A thorough investigation of this subject would be very desirable: for the present I will only say that the *uten* of copper in the New Kingdom was most probably the weight of 1400–1500 grains, and that this became the standard for all the metals; but the "piece of gold" in the papyri of the XVIIIth dynasty, and the *uten* = "piece of gold" of the Hyksos period, should be the ancient royal gold weight of 196–207 grains.

Returning now to the subject of weights as weights: in a tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty at Abd el Qurneh (L.D., III, 39, d) a scene of

* Here again I must be permitted to make a correction: in writing my note, Vol. XIV, p. 43, on the cartouche of the Ebers Papyrus, I have stated that it resembled in style those of the papyri of the Middle Kingdom from Kahun. This was a slip of the memory; the fact is that it bears a strong likeness to the cartouches of Amenhotep III in these two later papyri from the same collection.

† Mar., *Abydos*, II, pl. 37. In this inscription $\frac{2}{3}$ of the silver *kiti* is frequently mentioned. The division of the *kiti* by 3 is very common at Edfu, and is found at all periods. In the demotic papyri of the Greek period the equivalent for the drachma is $\frac{1}{2}$ *kiti*, the *tetradrachm* is  *sttr* (not to be read shekel), *στράτηρ*, and the *uten* occurs commonly: see Revillout, in this volume, p. 82 ff.; the reading *sttr* = stater, which is a perfectly correct name for the tetradrachm, is due to Brugsch. (A. Z., XXVII, p. 9, etc.)

weighing is accompanied by the inscription "[weighing (?)] this great mass of electrum  which had been measured in(?) *hekt* (or, which amounted to(?) a *hekt*) making 36,692  *uten*." It seems clear enough that  in  is only a semi-hieratic form of , and , Dum., *Kal.*, Pl. XL, A, is double the , of Pl. XL, B, so the meaning *hekt* for  is certain.

If we have here an equation between a *hekt* of electrum (in small ingots (?)) and 36692 *utens*, we can roughly calculate the *uten* from it. The *hekt* contains 10 *henu* or about 292 cubic inches, and this amount of water would weigh 7,811 grains. The specific gravity of pure gold being 19.26, by substituting a *hekt* of solid gold for a *hekt* of electrum ingots in the equation, we should obtain an *uten* not much exceeding 40 grains, and the actual equation would reduce this to 25 or 30 grains. I do not find any other evidence for such an *uten*, and therefore conclude that the first of the two translations must be accepted as the true one, namely, "which had been measured in *hekt*."

The statistical inscription of Thothmes III at Karnak reckons gold, silver, lapis-lazuli and bronze in  *uten* without special multiples, but with its $\frac{1}{10}$ subdivision  *ketet* (Coptic *KITE*) of which fractions occur. $\frac{1}{3}$ of the *ketet* or *kiti* is found in this inscription in connection with gold (Leps. *Aus.*, Pl. X = Mar. *Karn.*, XIII, 22).*

The Rollin papyri of the age of Seti I (XIXth dynasty) appear to reckon large amounts of corn, bread, etc., by weight in *uten*.

In the great Harris Papyrus of Rameses III (XXth dynasty), besides metals and minerals, we find sparingly incense and drugs of various kinds and even linen (?) reckoned by weight in *uten* and *kiti*; minerals in the same document, and especially figures of the Nile, are also sometimes reckoned in      *nusa*. The word *nusa* occurs in the form   in the statistical in-

* A curious attempt recently made to show that     denote certain foreign units of weight is quite hopeless.

scription of Thothmes III (1200 *nus* of lead, Leps. *Auvs.*, XII, 35); if it was a unit of weight it was evidently considerably less than the *uten*.*

In the inscription of the Ethiopian king Horsiatef (Mar., *Mon. Div.*, Pl. XI, l. 26), gold given in *uten* is reduced to $\frac{\square}{\Delta III}^{\circ}$ *pek* in the proportion of 1 : 128. The fraction $\frac{1}{128}$ is probably reached by successive halvings, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$, $\frac{1}{64}$, $\frac{1}{128}$, as Bortolotti suggested.

The Ptolemaic texts of Edfu (Dümichen, *Geogr. Inschr.*, II, Pl. LXXXIII-IV) equate the *henu* of wine or water with 5 *uten* weight, that of honey with $7\frac{1}{2}$ *uten*. The *henu* at 29.2 cubic inches gives an *uten* of 1474 grains, the *kiti* of which, 147.4 grains, lies between the Heliopolite *kiti* 140 grains, and the royal (*kiti*(?)) weight of Aahmes II, 150 grains. This is a fixed point of great value. As I have indicated above, the *uten* and *kiti* from the beginning of the New Kingdom onwards are probably the same for all materials, and denote the 1400-1500-grain *uten*, 140-150-grain *kiti*, while the *khetem* of the papyri of Amenhotep III, and the *khetem-uten* of the Hyksos Mathematical Papyrus may have varied in weight for different metals: in all probability the early royal gold unit of 196-207 grains is the gold piece in question.

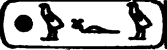
The scarcity of written information on the monuments and papyri, is to a great extent made up for by the immense collections of weights which M. Petrie has amassed, weighed, and classified according to certain standards, some of which were suggested by the ancient coinage standards, while others were deduced entirely from the evidence of the weights themselves. Such a classification is of great value, as making the long series of several thousand specimens easy to refer to. Marked weights are very rare, and the inscriptions upon them being much abbreviated, are often difficult to interpret: even now, when the inscribed specimens are 30 in number as against 6 ten years ago, it would be a hopeless task to classify the unmarked weights upon the basis of the marked ones: yet it is obvious that as material increases we must rely mainly upon the inscriptions, which often have a many sided value, to settle the units, and upon careful excavations to show the ages and

* A note in *Records of the Past*, VI, p. 68 (*nusa* = 2 *uten*) which has been relied on by Mr. Petrie for a unit, *Season in Egypt*, p. 41, is contradicted by a second note, VIII, p. 20. The *nusa* in the Harris Papyrus, according to the numbers, must have weighed much less than the *uten*, but the meaning of the word is altogether doubtful.

localities of fine and unaltered specimens, while the evidence of damaged and ill formed weights need not be taken into account except for special reasons.

Whereas the monuments and papyri seem to indicate hardly any unit beyond the *ates* and *kil*, the weights themselves show embarrassing variety: at one time or another during the three or four thousand years that elapsed between Chufu and the Roman occupation, a multitude of native and foreign standards for various metals, each having local, trade, or other variations, must have left their abundant traces in the country. The following list of inscribed weights is sufficient to give an idea of the complexity of the subject. Amongst these the examples that bear cartouches or inscriptions specifying the exact standard may rank higher for accuracy than those with mere numerals or numbers of $\bigcirc$ units, which seem often to have been adjusted as exchange weights for two standards.

(A.) Early royal gold series, extending from the earliest times to the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty. An example of this was noticed by Mr. Petrie in 1883, but in the last two years no less than three more royal specimens have come to light.

1. IVth dynasty, Chufu,  ON; "10 units;" oblong, rectangular, the top rounded; 2060 grains.

Unit 206 grains = 13.348 grammes.

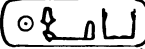
Collection F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A. Bought in Cairo, 1891.

See W. M. F. Petrie, *Academy*, January, 1891, No. 977, p. 95.

2. XIIth dynasty, Amenemhat III, ; "4 gold (units);" 50.835 grammes = 784.5 grains.

Unit 196.5 grains = 12.7 grammes.

Louvre, Revillout, *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, pp. 246, 247.

3. XVIIIth dynasty, Amenhotep I, ; "5 gold (units);" oblong, rectangular, curved top, injured. 1022.7 grains, originally 1038.

Unit 207.6 grains = 13.452 grammes.

British Museum; from Gebelên. W. M. F. Petrie, *Archæological Journal*, 1883, p. 419.

4. XVIIIth dynasty, Thothmes I, "beloved of Ptah," ; "6 gold units;" 76.645 grammes = 1182.7 grains.

Unit 197.7 grains = 12.774 grammes.

Louvre, Revillout, *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 247.

We here see two varieties of an unit of about 200 grains showing a constant difference of about 10 grains. The Chufu specimen (from Memphis (?)), and that from Gebelên (south of Thebes) are of the heavy standard, while the two specimens recently acquired by the Louvre, one of which is dedicated to the Memphite deity, are light. With the lower variety we may connect the following :—

5. Oblong rectangular weight, ||||| cut in the edge, weight 1177·2 grains, originally 1178·4.

Unit 196·4 grains.

From Memphis. Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, p. 40, No. 4407, Pl. XXVIII, fig. 161. "12 Aeginetan drachmas of 98·2."

It would seem as if 196 grains was the Memphite standard, the Chufu value of 207 grains being preserved in Upper Egypt.

This unit of about 200 grains, the same as the Aeginetan *stater*, must now be considered as the representative gold standard in Ancient Egypt. Mr. Petrie's heading for the unit or half unit is *Aeginetan stater* or *drachma*.

(B.) It is very instructive to find the same phenomenon of two closely allied standards or varieties of the same standard in connection with the *kiti*  (properly transcribed , Coptic $\kappa\iota\tau\epsilon$, *kiti*, often named *kat*).

6. Form     ; "5 *kiti* of the silver-house of Heliopolis;" 698 grains, originally 700.

Unit 140 grains.

Harris Collection, from Thebes. Chabas, *Rev. Arch.*, Nouv. Sér., III, 1861, p. 14.

- 6a. Identical with 6 in form, inscription, and weight, but on the top marked  Basalt.



The first sign  (?) may be only a flaw in the stone. The seated deity may be Thoth or Chonsu; behind the figure is a sign in outline resembling an inverted egg .

British Museum; marked 75.8-10.58. Probably the same specimen as 6.

7. Weight, ; "half (*uten*), 5 (*kiti*), house of (?) Heliopolis," or "coming out (from) Heliopolis." 45, 48 grammes.

Units, *uten* = 1404 grains, *kiti* = 140·4 grains = 9·096 grammes.

Louvre. Revillout, *Rev. Ég.*, II, p. 178.

8. Weight, ; "10 (*uten*) of the house of Ra (Heliopolis)."

Much injured; 12510 grains, originally 14000.

Unit, about 1400 grains.

From Defeneh (XXVIth dynasty (?)). Petrie, *Nebesheh*, p. 85, No. 946, and Pl. XLVII, fig. 118.

These are all Heliopolitan; Nos. 6, 6a, furnish the name *kiti*, which is known from the inscriptions to be $\frac{1}{10}$ of the *uten*; the unit of No. 8 is therefore the *uten*.

9. Granite , very fine  beneath plumes , Aahmes II.
Weight 150 grains.

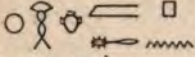
There being no indication of multiple upon it, we have no alternative but to consider this as the royal standard *kiti* of Aahmes II, XXVIth dynasty, 564-526 B.C. The *uten* and *kiti* were infinitely the commonest weights at that period, and had long formed the standard in official documents.*

British Museum. Cf. Petrie, *Naucratis*, I, p. 80.

The unmarked weights in Mr. Petrie's lists under the heading *kat*, show every shade of gradation between these two varieties of the *kiti*, with a large preponderance in favour of the higher value; there appears to be no coinage on the *kiti* system. It is very interesting to see how closely the marked weights adhere to their special variety of standard, keeping well within 1 per cent., while the existence of well marked varieties with 10 or 11 grains difference between them in the gold and *kiti*, prepares us for the intricacies of the unidentified standards which we have to deal with next, and may help others in considering the marked measures of length and capacity that have come down to us.

* For another example of the *uten*, see No. 30.

(C.) Uncertain standards. Amongst the weights here enumerated, Nos. 13 and 20 are of great importance; the arrangement is roughly according to the value of the marked unit.

10. Domed weight,  "Uah-ab-ra, in this mass 10 (units)." 570.7 grains.

Has been much altered since the inscription was engraved, but can hardly have lost less than a fifth, or more than half of its bulk, so originally not more than 800 grains.

Unit, between 65 and 80 grains.

Compare the Attic drachma 65, Euboic 67, and the "80-grain" standard.*

Naucratis (XXVIth dynasty); Petrie, *Naucratis*, I, pp. 76, 79, and Pl. XXII, fig. 100, "apparently adjusted to 4 *kats* of 142.7."

11. Flattened barrel form, , "3 (units)." 363.9 grains.

Unit 121.3 grains.

Compare No. 19, which may be the 100-multiple assimilated to another unit.

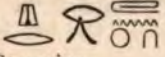
Gurob, XVIIIth-XIXth dynasty (?). Petrie, *Kahun*, p. 41, No. 4905.

12. Lead flattened barrel, , "3 (units)." 415.6 grains, with accretions; originally 408 grains.

Unit 136.0 grains.

Double of the Attic drachma, or a very light kiti.

Gurob, XVIIIth-XIXth dynasty (?). Petrie, *Kahun*, p. 41, No. 4911. "6 'Attic drachmas' of 68.0 grains."

13. Name of a priest Ampī,  "with $\frac{1}{10}$ (?), 10 *uten*." 141.8 grammes = 2188. grains.

Unit 218.8 grains = 14.18 grammes.

This weight is exceedingly ancient, probably of about the Xth dynasty. The inscription is difficult, but certainly indicates 10 units, perhaps named *uten*. This unit is plentifully illustrated in Mr. Petrie's lists amongst the light varieties of the "Phœnician shekel," and it was the standard of the Ptolemaic coinage, but it

* Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, p. 487.

is astounding to find it at so early a date: possibly it is the old silver standard or a heavy third variety of the gold standard. $\mathcal{R}$ may mean $\frac{1}{10}$, if so we have the statement that the weight is $\frac{1}{10}$ of a unit of 21880 grains, containing 100 of the smaller unit: in No. 4352,* from Memphis (not marked), of 22,080 grains, there may be an example of the large unit.

Berlin Museum. Stern, *Rev. Égypt.*, II, p. 173. Brugsch, *Thes.*, VI, p. 1452. Revillout, *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 245.

14. Oblong, rectangular, $\bigcirc \parallel \parallel \parallel \parallel$, "6 units." 1380.2 grains, originally 1381 grains.

Unit 230.2 grains.

This may be a 10-multiple of the last unit (and so a light *uten* (?) adjusted to 6 "Phœnician shekels" of a heavy type.

Gurob, XVIIIth-XIXth dynasty (?). Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 21, No. 4973. "6 Phœnician shekels."

15. Oblong, rectangular, $\parallel$, "2 (units)." 480.6 grains.

Unit 240.3 grains.

Kahun, XIIth-XIIIth dynasty (?). Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 14, No. 4954. "2 Phœnician shekels."

16. Oblong, rectangular, $\parallel \parallel \parallel \parallel$, "6 (units)." 1473.3 grains.

Unit 245.5 grains.

Probably an *uten* assimilated to 6 "Phœnician shekels" of the heaviest type.

Gebelén (now in the British Museum (?)). Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 21.

17. Oblong, rectangular, $\cap \cap \cap \cap \cap \cap$, "60 (units)." 14700 grains.

Unit 245.0 grains.

Probably 10 *utens* assimilated to 60 "Phœnician shekels" of the heaviest type.

Gebelén. Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 21.

18. Oblong, rectangular, $\overset{\bigcirc}{\parallel \parallel \parallel}$, "8 units," injured. 127.7 grammes, probably original $131.24 = 2025$ grains.

Unit about 253 grains = 16.4 grammes.

Perhaps 10 of the gold units assimilated to 8 of the heavy "Assyrian shekels."

Colln. Golénischeff, *Rev. Égypt.*, II, 177; cf. *A.Z.*, XXVII, p. 85.

* *Season in Egypt*, p. 40.

19. Oblong, rectangular, rounded top, $\cap\cap\cap$, "30 (units)." 12,040 grains.

Unit 401.4 grains.

This may be 100 of the unit of No. 11 (121.3 grains) assimilated to 30 of the next unit (423 grains).

Kahun, XII–XIIIth dynasty (?). Petrie, *Kahun*, No. 4920, p. 42.

"60 'Aeginetan staters' of 200.7 grains."

20. Rectangular, rounded top, $\text{D} \cap \text{III}$, "15 copper (?) units;" injured. 409.6 grammes, originally about 411 = 6,343 grains.

unit 423 grains = 27.4 grammes.

The weight seems to be 100 of the "Attic drachma" unit. The first sign in the inscription is generally believed to be D = copper or bronze; and as several marked specimens exist, such a view is all the more probable. Cf. Nos. 21, 22 (?) and 23.

Berlin Museum. Brugsch, *A.Z.*, XXVII, p. 90; Revillout, *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 243.

21. Shape $\square$ with square sides III , "9 (units)." 3798.2 grains, originally 3799.5 grains.

Unit 423.6 grains.

Probably an Assyrian half-mina, *i.e.*, 30×126.6 , assimilated to 9 of the above units.

Kahun, XII–XIII dynasty (?). Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 14, No. 4924.

22. Square. O III , "10 (units) 9 (?)" or "19 units." 3,822.6 grains, originally 3,835 grains.

Units 42.6 with 426.1

or 201.8 grains.

201.8 would be the gold unit, 426.1 the copper (?) unit of No. 20, and 42.6 the $\frac{1}{10}$ of the copper (?).

Memphis. Petrie, *Season*, p. 40, No. 4420, Pl. XXVIII, fig. 170.

23. Oblong, rectangular, curved top, $\cap\cap$, "20 (units)." 8536 grains, originally 8550 grains.

Unit 427.4 grains.

Kahun, XII–XIII dynasty (?) Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 14, No. 4942.

24. Oblong, rectangular, curved top, $\cap\cap$, "20 (units)." 8735 grains, originally 9030 grains.

Unit 451.4 grains.

Kahun, XII–XIII dynasty (?) Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 14, No. 4948.

25. Domed "Aata son of Hor-ut'a," 676·9 grains.

Unit 676·9 grains (?)

This may be a weight certified by an inspector: it bears no mark of multiple, but can be a light half *uten*, or 10 drachmæ of 67·7. XXVIth dynasty or later.

Memphis. Petrie, *Season*, pp. 36, 39, 42, and Pl. XXVIII.

26. Oblong, rectangular, rounded edges, ||||, "4 (units)." 2951·3 grains.

Unit 737·8 grains.

The unit may be the half *uten*, making an *uten* of 1476 grains.

Kahun, XII-XIIIth dynasty (?). Petrie, *Kahun*, p. 42, No. 4914.

27. Oblong, rectangular, rounded top, ∩∩∩, "30 (units)," 22235, originally 22860 grains.

Unit 761 grains.

The unit may be the half *uten*, making a heavy *uten* of 1524 grains.

Kahun, XII-XIII dynasty (?). Petrie, *Kahun*, p. 42, No. 4916.

28. Domed. Demotic inscription, "weight of the house of Thoth, the twice great, lord of Hermopolis Magna;" apparently much injured, 1908 grammes=29445 grains.

I have adopted Maspero's version, which seems the best available. Probably a large allowance has to be made for injury to the weight: it may be 20 *uten* of about 1,500 grains. Compare the royal *kiti* of Aahmes, No. 9.

In the Khedivial Museum. *Mon. Div.*, Pl. 97, No. 2; text by Maspero, p. 29. Revillout, *Rev. Égypt.* II, p. 183.

29. A weight (?), rectangular, with rounded top, , "gold $\frac{1}{4}$ (?)." 4,732 grammes=73 grains.

Unit (?) 292 grains.

Doubtful, but might be a double *kiti* used perhaps as a unit by jewellers.

In the Khedivial Museum. *Mon. Div.*, Pl. 100, No. 45.

30.  inscription "the superintendent of the scribe of the accounts of King Psammetichus Nefer-Psemtek." 93 grammes = 1435·2 grains.

Clearly a *uten* of 1435·2 grains.

Compare Nos. 6-9. It is disappointing to find that this *aten*-weight, which seems to be at least semi-royal, does not agree with the standard *kiti* of Aahmes II, No. 9.

In the St. Petersburg Museum (Ermitage Impérial) Golénischeff Inventaire, p. 349, No. 2396.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this paper was completed Mr. Petrie has given me an extract from a stela of Khuenaten at Tell el Amarna, which is of the greatest importance for measures of distance, using the *atru* as a multiple of the . The hieroglyphic subdivisions of the  mentioned in it are , $\times$ and : the transcriptions arrived at above, p. 411, are therefore confirmed,  being a common variant for  whenever the meaning is unmistakable. A squeeze of the complete text will soon be available, and it is not too much to hope that the value of the ancient *atru* (in the XVIIIth dynasty) will be deduced from it (above, p. 408).*

I should have stated that the cubit (p. 404) is written: (1)  from the earliest times (Dynasty IV, VI, etc.): on the naos of Saft (XXXth dynasty) : (2)  usual, for distinctness, in hieratic (Bulaq XVIII, Westcar, Rhind, etc.), and in graffiti; in monumental hieroglyphs at Asyût, Tomb III, l. 13, V, l. 21. In some passages of the Westcar and some variants of the Book of the Dead  is indicated but is perhaps hardly correct. In the Rhind Papyrus the cubit is often an *implied* unit with figures.

As to the measures of capacity, I find that the double *hekt* (p. 427) is regularly used at Kahun. Thus the *hekt* was doubled in the early Middle Kingdom, and this double *hekt*, as we have seen, continued in use as late as the XVIIIth dynasty, although a second doubling towards the end of the Middle Kingdom produced a quadruple *hekt*, relegating the double *hekt* to an inferior place and gradually extinguishing it. The triple *hekt* (p. 428) should probably be struck out. The *khar*    appears to be rare at

* Some additional information derived from a newly catalogued Kahun fragment (XIX, 1) is embodied in the table. It extends the subdivisions of the arura to the quarter cubit.

Kahun, but I have found it four or five times in connection with boat-loads of corn; in the prevailing uncertainty as to the phonetic value of the later ff , the possibility of that being the *khar* itself, with the metrical value altered from 20 to 16 *hekt*, is worth consideration.

A quantity of new material put at my disposal by Mr. Petrie and a variety of considerations arising out of the preceding study necessitate the preparation of an appendix in the immediate future.

It would be a great advantage to be able to add to it descriptions of any still *uncatalogued weights bearing inscriptions* that may exist in continental and other collections. Notes of inscribed cubit-rods measures of capacity, etc., would be equally acceptable.



FRAGMENTS OF OLD EGYPTIAN STORIES.

From the British Museum and Amherst Collections.

BY F. L. GRIFFITH.

ONE of the most valuable acquisitions made by the late Professor LEPSIUS for the Berlin Museum, was a series of four very early papyri, purchased in London about 1840, and afterwards published in the *Denkmäler*. These papyri all contain literary texts, of which the story of Sanehat is the most celebrated.

Berlin Papyrus 3022=No. I. L.D. VI. 104-107, Story of Sanehat.
 „ „ 3023=No. II. „ 108-110, Story of the Sekhti.
 „ „ 3024=No. III. „ 111, 112, Dialogue between a man and a ghost: first lines of a fairy tale.
 „ „ 3025=No. IV. L.D. VI. 113, 114, Story of the Sekhti.

The texts, which are but moderately correct, are written in short vertical columns with a few horizontal pages intermingled. Within certain limits the handwriting varies considerably, but the height of the sheet of papyrus is the same in all, namely, 6 inches (15 cm.). It is impossible at present to fix the age of the manuscripts: they may be as early as the middle of the twelfth dynasty, the latest event recorded being the death of Sanehat, which, according to the story, must have taken place late in the reign of Usertesen I. In spite of their great length not one of the rolls is complete, and the object of the present paper is to make known some fragments which will be serviceable in restoring the texts.

Amongst these, the first place is claimed by the Butler papyrus 527, bearing the new number 10,274 in the British Museum. How Dr. BUTLER, formerly head master of Shrewsbury School, obtained it, is not known. It is clearly from the same find as the papyri of Berlin, but can hardly have formed a part of any one of them. The *recto* supplies a very important text (already imperfectly transcribed by Goodwin) from the beginning of the story of the Sekhti, while on

the *verso* is part of a work that seems to be otherwise unknown. The copy herewith published is due to the kindness of Mr. NEWBERRY, who with the utmost care and patience traced the formidable document through the glass in which it is framed.

Hardly less useful than the Butler papyrus are a number of small fragments which have long been in the collection of Mr. Tyssen Amherst at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. Many of these can be shown to be portions of the Berlin MSS. We owe their identification in the first instance to Mr. NEWBERRY, who found them last autumn in sorting over a boxful of fragments, principally of late period. Again I am indebted to Mr. Newberry for excellent tracings, and to the owner of that important collection, and to Mrs. Amherst for an opportunity of examining the originals, as well as many of the magnificent Egyptian and other treasures which are preserved at Didlington. Mr. Amherst most kindly gave me permission to publish the fragments here, so as to complete the long delayed account of the Butler papyrus.* It is a most curious fact that the best series is from the beginning of the story of the Sekhti, and covers precisely the same portion of the text as the Butler papyrus, the two copies throwing much light on each other.

It is very probable that the fragments were all obtained by Mr. AMHERST † about 30 years ago with the entire collection of Mr. LIEDER of Cairo: or possibly they were in the Hartwell Museum of Dr. J. Lee. I have so far succeeded in identifying portions of Sanehat and of the two Berlin copies of the Sekhti.

The tales of the Berlin papyri are exceedingly instructive for the language and manners of a very ancient time. Sanehat's autobiography in particular has an air of absolute reality about it that makes one hope to find his tomb or some other record of his personal existence.

THE STORY OF SANEHAT.

The story of Sanehat, related by himself, can easily be referred to in Professor Maspero's *Contes populaire de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 2nd edition, 1889, pp. 89, ff. The Berlin papyrus of 311 lines gives the work complete excepting about 22 lines lost at the beginning, and

* As autotype facsimiles will soon be issued in Mr. Newberry's Catalogue of the Amherst Collection, it is sufficient on the present occasion to give transcriptions.

† Now Lord Amherst of Hackney.

even this part is supplied by an ostrakon which MASPERO found in a Theban tomb of the twentieth dynasty : unfortunately the text upon the ostrakon, though nearly perfect, is hardly usable by itself owing to its excessive corruption. The Amherst fragments of the older text now give us portions of eleven lines, which, numbered *backwards* from the beginning of the Berlin papyrus may be designated as 16, 15: 12, 11, 10, 9, 8: 4, 3, 2, 1, the last almost joining the Berlin MS. The position of these is certified by the text of the ostrakon, without which they also would be absolutely useless.

The following is an attempt to reconstitute the text in the style of the papyrus. The basis of it is Professor Maspero's transcription of the ostrakon,* very freely treated: certain formulas are recognisable in it, and the general movement of the story enables one to restore the sense grammar and orthography to a certain extent, while the Amherst fragments provide a series of firm stepping stones in a most treacherous quagmire. The divisions and numbers of the lines are supplied in most cases by conjecture.



* Ostrakon 27,149 of Bulak, published in the *Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien*, Tome II, p. 1-23, and Pl. I, II (printed in 1886).



His majesty had despatched a numerous army with the nobles to the land of the Temehu (Libyans) his son and heir the good god king* Usertesen as their leader. Now he was returning and had brought away living captives and all kinds of cattle without end. The councillors of the palace sent to the West to let the king know the events (?) that had taken place in the inner-court. *The messenger was to meet him on the road and reach him at the time of evening: the occasion was very pressing: 'a hawk had soared (flown away) with its followers' (was the message), in order not to let his army know (what had happened). Even if (?) the royal children who held commands in the said army send a message, he was not to speak to a single one of them.* Behold (when he came) I was standing (by) and heard his voice while he was speaking: I fled far away, my heart beating, my arms waving; trembling had fallen on all my limbs," etc.

This translation makes some sense, but there is not much of it that can be guaranteed: the italicised portions are guess-work.

The Turin papyrus of the kings distinguishes the XIIth dynasty as that in which the royal residence was at a place named . The situation of Tet-tai is unknown: I should be inclined to place it in some central spot near Memphis or the Fayum; the name is in fact traceable at Hawâra on a monument of the XIIth dynasty (Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. XI, No. 2) in the form , written, as often, within the symbol of a fortified place ; its occasional occurrence on the stelae of Abydos proves nothing as to situation, but it is interesting that they couple it with the name of Amenemhat. Here Amenemhat I must have held his court and died, and it was from Tettauui that the councillors sent to meet the new monarch Usertesen returning from his warlike expedition in the west. Sanehat must have been with the army and near the king when the despatch arrived. He thus overheard the message and understood the state of affairs. Unable to contain himself at the news, he was driven involuntarily, by a strange impulse 'as one in a dream,' to take to flight—this is expressly stated several times in the course of the narrative.

The remainder of the story may be summarised in a few words thus:—

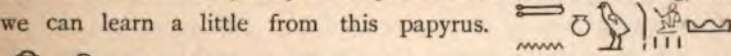
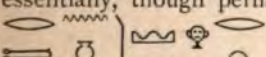
Sanehat hid himself in the bush until the army had gone past: then "travelling southward" he "crossed over the river" to Kher-

* Usertesen had been associated on the throne with his father for 10 years.

ahau (near Fostat), and after journeying for some time in a north-easterly direction reached a frontier post: here he was compelled to lie concealed until the evening, when he passed the frontier and at length, almost dead with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, obtained food from a friendly Sati (Bedawi) who introduced him "to his camp and the sheikhs." Thereafter his journey was easy: "one country passed him on to another," until he reached Atem, Atema (Edom?). In this country he spent "half a year," but the Heka (sheikh or king) of the highland Tenu, named Amuanshi, invited the wanderer to settle in his territory. Amuanshi's dominions were considerable, and his tribe important. Sanehat soon reached the highest eminence as commander of his armies, and marrying his daughter, became the father of a family, each member of which was sheikh of a camp or village. But in all things he acted loyally to Egypt and Pharaoh. At length, in answer to a petition,* Usertesen caused the aged exile to return to Egypt, where he was received with great honour and was granted the supreme blessing of a splendid sepulchre in the land of his birth.

Such is a very brief outline of the story which is narrated with simplicity and with an abundance of interesting detail. Sanehat was a mighty man of valour: mere excitement at learning the news of the old king's death could not have so affected the hero as to make him flee the country. He himself attributes his otherwise criminal act of desertion to an inspiration of the deity. As in all good old tales, great good fortune and renown result to an innocent man from an apparently most untoward event.

Of the names and status of the surrounding countries at the time of the XIIth dynasty we at present know almost nothing, but we can learn a little from this papyrus.

 "the highland Tenu," the country in which Sanehat retrieved his fortunes, is distinct from Atem, and must be the same essentially, though perhaps not the same in extent, as the later  "highland Retnu," the Egyptian name for the region of Palestine. To those who may object to identifying two words which differ by an initial , I would say that if the word is Egyptian we can find plenty of compounds with prefixed .

* The opening words of this seem to have been accidentally omitted by the scribe at l. 156.

which are thereby very little altered in meaning from the original word: or, if the name is foreign, the  may here represent some indistinct initial consonant that was neglected by the early Egyptians: the pronunciation would then be approximately Etnu, Retnu.

It is interesting to observe that several passages in the story imply a certain amount of intercourse between Egypt and the "highland Tenu."

The elucidation of this singularly interesting narrative will long give occupation to Egyptologists: there are many details that might be commented on, but as a new version is promised from more than one quarter, I need not occupy these pages with their discussion. The Amherst fragments, extremely slight though they are, are a real addition to the materials for study of the text.

THE BUTLER PAPYRUS.*

Goodwin long ago published an imperfect transcript of the *recto* of this document, but the edges of it and the whole of the *verso* were then hidden by the mount. This drawback has since been remedied, yet there still remain external difficulties to contend with in reading the original, for all the fragments composing it, both large and small, are wrongly placed, and a half-transparent covering of tracing paper, which it would be difficult to remove, still obscures the whole of the *verso* and completely hides some signs. I have compared Mr. Newberry's copy again and again with the original, making such corrections as were necessary, and filling in the spaces that my friend had intentionally left blank. The plates herewith, in which all but four small fragments are correctly placed, are slightly reduced (one sixth) from the tracing: though they are not as minutely accurate as a direct photograph would be, they are much more intelligible owing to the rearrangement of the fragments.

Of the original the top and bottom edges have been cut with scissors, and thus the numerals which were placed over every tenth line have been mutilated. The trimming was done in recent times, for one of the small fragments which I have restored in the copy to its place at the beginning shows the original edge (at l. 1 of *recto*, l. 3 of *verso*). From this it appears that the width was 6 inches or 15 cm., like the Berlin papyri.† The length of the leaves composing the roll is uncertain. On the *recto* is written a portion of the Story of the Sekhti.

* See the plates of the Papyrus 10,274 of the British Museum.

† See Borchardt, *AZ.* XXVII, p. 118.

THE STORY OF THE SEKHTI.

The manuscripts are three in number, viz., 3023 and 3025 at Berlin, with fragments belonging to them at Didlington Hall, and the *recto* of the Butler papyrus. The Berlin papyri are very long, containing, partly in duplicate, about 400 lines of the story, but they lack both the beginning and the end. GOODWIN* discovered that the few lines on the *recto* of the Butler papyrus supplied a large portion of the missing introduction. His account, written more than a quarter of a century ago, served as a starting point for the present study, which in the end has led, as might be expected, to a much improved reading. The identification of the Amherst fragments, which run parallel to the Butler text, has supplied some most important variants, and has given the true reading of one group which would certainly have remained doubtful without them. Happily also Herr BORCHARDT, in cataloguing the papyri of the Berlin Museum, found that some fragments which are published in Lepsius' *Denkmäler* at the *beginning* of the second text, fit neatly on to the *end* of that document. This little addition brings us suddenly out of interminable petitions into what must be the middle of the *dénoûment* of the story. The following collation of the new arrangement with the published copy will be useful:—

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|
| 3025 ll. | 1-125 = | L. D. Pap. IV. l. | 18-142 |
| „ | 126-132 = | „ | l. 4-10 |
| „ | 133-135 = | „ | l. 1-3 |
| „ | 136-142 = | „ | l. 11-17 |

The principal fragments in the Amherst collection belong to 3023. The arrangement of the lines in them shows that they are copied from the same original as the Butler papyrus, a fact which gives a peculiar significance to the variations of orthography in the two MSS.

The Butler MS. presents the only example that has come down to us of numbered *columns* † in an Egyptian papyrus, although the

* In Chabas' *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, II Série, 1864, pp. 249-272. The most recent account of the story is to be found in Maspero, *Contes Populaires*, 2me édition, pp. 35-50; and there are short notes of Borchardt (AZ., 1889, pp. 118-120: 1890, pp. 72, 85, 88, 89); Erman (*Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, pp. 75-76; *Westcar*, I, pp. 17, 29, 70); and myself ("Egypt Exploration Fund, Report of 3rd Ordinary General Meeting," 1888-89, p. 22).

† Borchardt's remark AZ., xxvii, p. 120, referring these numbers to the leaves of the sheet instead of the columns of writing is incorrect.

pages of the Ebers papyrus and of the demotic story of Setna are marked with numerals. We here have an aid in estimating the loss at the beginning of the manuscript. The *verso*, which begins from the same end as the *recto*, marks the 12th line from the beginning with the numeral 20, and the 32nd line with 40, so that 8 lines are lost together with half the width of the 9th: this would have covered about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches without border, supposing, as is most probable, that there was no horizontal page.

The mutilation of the numerals on the *recto* is most unfortunate: over l. 29 is part of a numeral that might be 10, 20, 30 or 50: 10 is out of the question, and the fragment of a figure over l. 19 cannot be any portion of 40, so 50 also is excluded: between 20 and 30 for l. 29 it is very difficult to decide, but I think that the end of the third stroke of 20 would have been visible while the spot of 30 might have been completely cut away over l. 29: as there is no trace of spot or stroke 30 is to be preferred, and consequently 20 rather than 10 should be restored over l. 19.

Over l. 16 can be seen a small dash \ which I think shows the principle of the numbering in the mixed columns and pages. The list of wares, l. 1-11 (with determinatives marked *a*), formed a page and counted as one item, the remainder of the list l. 12-14 made another page, the first of the short columns (l. 15) being joined with it: the second column (l. 16) however is marked off with the above-mentioned dash, which shows that the *counting* of the columns was there resumed.

Hence if l. 19 was numbered 20, l. 16 would be counted as 17, the page formed by ll. 12-15 as 16, the page ll. 1-11 as 15, and there would be 14 columns to supply at the beginning. These 14 columns, widely spaced like the others, would occupy nearly 13 inches, much exceeding the 6 inches required to complete the *verso*. From this point of view it would be better to make 10 instead of 20 the figure over l. 19; then there would be 4 numbers to supply before the first remaining page: if one of these numbers were a page of produce 3 inches broad the 6 inches could be exactly accounted for.

There is however another piece of evidence to be considered: Borchardt states that the leaves composing the long sheets of the Berlin papyrus are from 38-42 cm. ($15-16\frac{1}{2}$ inches) in length, 52 cm. ($20\frac{1}{2}$ inches) being reached in one papyrus. The Butler papyrus shows a join between l. 28-29 of the *recto* with an unjointed length of 16 inches (to the middle of the first page) on the right and 11 inches

on the left; another leaf of 16 inches commencing at the middle of the first page, would very well account for half a page, 14 columns and a narrow border. This gets rid of the necessity of introducing an extra page of the already long list of the Sekhti's wares.

The evidence appears to me to be very decidedly in favour of 14 columns having been lost.

With regard to the end of the story it is impossible to form an estimate of the loss: the story might certainly terminate a line or two beyond the last fragment of 3025; on the other hand it might continue for 50 lines or more.

Arranging the data consecutively, and numbering the lines of the Amherst fragments to correspond with those of the Butler papyrus and of 3025, we obtain the following concordance of the texts:—

| | Butler | Berlin
3023 | Amherst
(3023) | Berlin
3025 | Amherst
(3025) |
|--------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| ll. 1-14 (<i>lost</i>) | | | | | |
| ll. 15-52 | 1-37 | | { = Butler
1-35 | | |
| ll. 53-55 | 38-40 | <i>recto</i>
1-3 | | | { = 3023
230-1
243-5 |
| ll. 56-304 | | 4-247 | | | |
| ll. 305-313 | | 248-255 | | 1-8 | |
| | | <i>verso</i> | | | |
| ll. 313-393 | | 1-70 | | 8-88 | |
| ll. 394-447 | | | | 89-142 | |

A line was omitted in the numbering of the *Denkmäler* between ll. 77 and 78 of 3023.

The principal divisions of the story, with the corresponding numbers in the published plates, are:—

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Sekhti introduced (?) | (lost) |
| „ robbed on a journey by Suti | Butler, Amherst, Berlin II to l. 32. |
| „ complains to Meruitensa... | Berlin II, ll. 32-42. |
| Meruitensa consults the lords in
the court of justice | ll. 42-51. |
| Sekhti appeals to Meruitensa | ll. 52-71. |
| Meruitensa informs the king | ll. 72-77. |
| The king's command | ll. 78-87. |
| Sekhti's second appeal | ll. 88-138. |
| „ third appeal | ll. 138-192. |

| | | |
|--------------------|-----|---|
| Shuti's 1st appeal | ... | Berlin II, ll. 193-224. |
| " fifth appeal | ... | " ll. 225-238. Amherst. |
| " sixth appeal | ... | " ll. 238- <i>verso</i> l. 9=IV, ll. 18-37 and Amherst. |
| " seventh appeal | ... | " <i>verso</i> ll. 10-32 = IV, ll. 38-67. |
| " eighth appeal | ... | " ll. 33-end=IV, ll. 67-107. |
| " ninth appeal | ... | " IV, ll. 108-142 and l. 4. |
| The judgment | ... | " IV, ll. 4-10, 1-3 and 12-17. |

In the following transcription from the Butler Papyrus A stands for Amherst, B for Butler, L for Berlin 3023.

| | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 1. | | |
| 2. | | |
| 3. | | |
| 4. | | |
| 5. | | |
| 6. | | |
| 7. | | |
| 8. | | |
| 9. | | |
| 10. | | |
| 11. | | |

* The scribe seems to have begun the word and then to have altered it in an undecided way to The is now a queer compound in the hieratic.



The variants   for  ,   for  ,   for , for ,

THE OUTRAGE.

[Once upon a time there was a man named the Sekhti * son of who dwelt in the Sekhet Hemat : † he had a house and a wife, and asses, and his occupation was to collect the produce of the Sekhet Hemat. Each year when the summer came he collected the salt and natron from the ponds, and he gathered rushes for baskets, and herbs, and seeds, and sought for minerals ; and each year he took his asses and journeyed to Heracleopolis and other towns of Egypt to sell his goods and bring back the products of Kemt. Now it came to pass that on a certain occasion he loaded his asses ‡ with § herbs or rushes (?), natron and salt, and wood of and pods (?) of *bau* and *unshu* and stones and seeds *anba tebu* (?) and *ut* (?), (in short) with all the good products of the Sekhet Hemat. The said Sekhti then journeyed southwards towards Hensuten ; || and when he came to the land belonging to the house

* Sekhti means inhabitant of a sekhet, *i.e.*, a reedy (?) district or a field.

† The "Sekhet of Salt," *i.e.*, perhaps the Wâdy Natrûn in the desert near the western edge of the Delta : at any rate it lay north of Heracleopolis Magna and produced natron as well as salt. But some locality much nearer to Heracleopolis would be preferable ; a journey of 100 miles to sell these wares at Heracleopolis seems absurd when Memphis and other excellent markets were within easy reach, I therefore suspect that the Sekhet Hemat lay in some corner on the north-west of the Fayûm. That Sekhti's home was in the Sekhet Hemat is clear from the king's order about providing for his wife.

‡ The number is nowhere stated ; at the present day no one alone on a journey would think of taking more than one animal, but then a camel is as easy to look after as a donkey. In early Egypt the camel was unknown (though it was common in the desert at least as early as the Persian invasion), so a traveller with much baggage would have to put up with the difficulty of attending to several animals singly if he could not afford to take a companion. The travelling hucksters who go the weekly round of village markets in the Delta put their stock-in-trade usually on the back of a donkey or of an ill-conditioned horse ; while a countryman takes a donkey or a camel according to his needs.

§ The Butler text begins here : very few of the names of products of the "Field of Salt" can be identified ; even the transcriptions are conjectural.

|| Heracleopolis Magna, the modern Ahnâs, near the western edge of the Nile valley, and nearly 10 miles south of the entrance of the Fayûm. It was a very important city, and the capital of the IXth and Xth dynasties of Pharaohs, whose power we know to have extended at least as far south as Asyût.

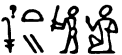
of Fefa,* on the north of the dyke (or of Tenat),† he found a man there standing on the bank, whose name was the Suti (?),‡ son of a man named Asri, a serf of the High Steward Meruitensa. Said this Suti when he saw the asses of Sekhti and the wealth in him (?) said he, "O for a good moment for me to steal away the goods of Sekhti from him!"

Now the Suti's house was at the bank (?)§ of the tow path (?), which (bank) was confined, that is to say not broad; it would amount to the width of a piece of cloth (?); one side of it had water, the other

* Fefa is a name that belongs to the Ancient Empire; it appears for instance in a tomb of the Vth dynasty, L.D. II, 74 a. Fefa does not appear in the rest of the story as a contemporary of Sekhti: more probably he was a person known to the narrator and his audience at the time when the story was composed.

† The Butler determinative ● makes this a town, Tenat, which is known from other documents, Sebek and Neith being worshipped there (*see Brugsch, Dict. Geog.*, p. 1350. Professor Maspero, *Contes Pop.*, p. 40, proposes to identify it with Atmeh, placed in the French map a short distance north of Heracleopolis. The word Tenat is in some way connected with the works of irrigation in *Papyrus* II, *vers* L, 21=IV, L 51, and in the time of Seti I it was the name of a canal or wady on the north-east frontier of Egypt (L.D., III, 126). I am therefore inclined to connect this town with the irrigation works at the mouth of the Fayûm. Sebek was the god of the Fayûm, Neith was his mother, and the two are found associated on the Saite and later monuments of Hawâra (Petrie, *Hawâra*, pl. 2-6; *Kahun*, pl. xxiv).

The Amherst text is without the determinative of a town: one may probably translate Tenat "dyke-city," or simply "dyke," according to the determinative: the word "bank" which follows points to "dyke" as the best reading.

‡  Suti or Suteuti (?): the reading is doubtful, but it may be an ancient word of which the plural  occurs in the primæval tomb of Amten at Abusir in connection with farm-lands: and it may mean a cultivator of royal domains. The names Sekhti, Suti (?) are evidently significative, and even Asri perhaps refers to the branches of Asr-tree with which Suti beat Sekhti; on the other hand Meruitensa, *var.* Meruitensi, is a very strange compound that defies analysis.

§  "joining of land," is a word for burial, and suggests the heaping up of ground for a barrow, but I am not sure that this would give a correct view of the root meaning; yet in a quarry inscription at Hammamât (Golén., pl. ix, No. 1 - L.D. II, 138 c.)  very likely means a causeway. My translation of the passage is entirely conjectural: the "piece of cloth (?)" sounds vague, but the Egyptian looms may have produced a fixed width.

side had corn. Said Suti to his servant, "Hasten ! bring me a square carpet? * from the house ;" it was brought thence immediately ; † then he spread out this carpet upon the bank (?) of earth (forming ?) the path and it rested with its cloth-edge ‡ (?) on the water and its fringe (?) on the corn.

Now Sekhti approached along the path (used by) all. Said Suti, "[Have a care (?)] Sekhti, are you going § to trample on my linen?" said Sekhti, "I do your will, || I will pass carefully (?)"; ¶ then he went up the higher side, ** but Suti said [are] you [going to walk over] my corn instead of the path? Said Sekhti, I am going carefully ; a high bank †† with corn would make a fine way to travel (??) but you have blocked your pathway with your linen, will you not then let us pass by the side of the pathway? Thereupon one of the asses filled its mouth with corn-stalks. Said Suti, "Look you, I shall take away your ass, Sekhti, for eating my corn ; look you, it will have to pay according to the amount of injury." Said Sekhti, I am going carefully ; the one (way ?) was spoiled, I took my ass to a blocked place (?) and do you seize it for filling its mouth with corn stalks? moreover, I know the owner of this domain, which belongs to the High Steward Meruitensa, and he extirpates every robber from this whole land ; shall one then be robbed in his domain?"

Said Suti, "is this argument? People say that the name of a poor man is spoken of (only) to his (own) master (?) and now I say, will the High Steward attend to you? thereupon he took branches of tamarisk all green, and scourged his whole body with it, took away his asses, and drove them into his ground. Sekhti wept very much with sorrow at his loss (?). Said Suti, "do not raise your voice, Sekhti ; behold, you are at the dwelling of the god of silence." Sekhti answered, "you have beaten me, stolen my goods, and now would

* Or "box (?)." The determinative is uncertain : possibly it should be  as the name of a kind of cloth.

† Or "bring it thence immediately."

‡ *Sṯb* is a rare word, perhaps meaning "cover" ; *nṯmṯt*, which I have translated "fringe," is new.

§ 3023 reads  "you are not going, etc.?"

|| *I.e.*, "all right !" a common phrase.

¶ Lit. "my going (shall be) good (?)." The Butler papyrus ends here.

** *I.e.*, not the lower side where the water was, but where the corn grew or lay.

††   $\frac{\pi}{1} = \frac{\pi}{1}$ (?)

you take away my speech? if you will restore my property, then I will cease to cry out at your violence."

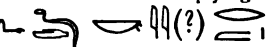
THE COMPLAINT.

Sekhti stayed the whole day petitioning Suti, but he would not give him his attention. Sekhti went away to Henen-suten to petition the High Steward Meruitensa; he found him coming out of the door of his house to embark on his boat, in order to go to the judgment hall. Sekhti said: "Ho! again? may thy heart be pleased with this argument of words; it is an occasion for letting thy attendant, whom thou wilt, come to me that I may send him to thee with an account of the case." The High Steward Meruitensa made his attendant, whom he would, go straight to him, and Sekhti sent him back with an account of this case in all its nature. The High Steward Meruitensa made known (accused?) Suti to the nobles who were with him; and they said to him, "as to this Sekhti, a surety must come (?),* behold this is what they would do with their own Sekhtis (peasants), sureties would have to come with them; this is what they would do; but if Suti should be beaten for some natron and some salt, and should be bidden to pay it, he must pay it.

The Chief Steward Meruitensa was silent; he would not answer the nobles, he would answer Sekhti.

THE FIRST APPEAL.

Now Sekhti came to appeal to the Chief Steward Meruitensa and said: "O! my lord Chief Steward, greatest of the great, guide of those who possess nothing; when thou embarkest on the pool of truth (Maât),† mayest thou sail upon it with a fair wind (*maâw*), may thy sail not break (?) thy mast, may there not be lamentation in thy cabin; may not misfortune follow after thee, may not thy bolts be broken, mayest thou not run aground; may not the whirlpool seize thee, mayest thou not taste the impurities of the river, mayest thou not see the face of fear; may the fish come to thee ensnared,

* *Kî r ks-f* is a technical term implying some means of shirking the duties of a judge. Cf.  *Rec. de Trav.*, III, p. 67.

† "Pool of truth" was the name of a canal at Heracleopolis; the eloquent Sekhti seizes on the name and the occasion to make an elaborate play upon words; the substance of his speech divested of figure is a wish that Meruitensa may attain his aim of doing justice without mishap to himself.

mayest thou penetrate into the flocks of waterfowl;* for thou art the orphan's father, the widow's husband, brother of the lonely woman, the clother of the motherless. Let me make thy name in this land as every good law; guide without perversion of heart; great one without any weakness; destroying lies, making truth to exist; come to the speech that my mouth utters, let me speak and do thou comply; do justice, a praiseworthy man praised by the praiseworthy, and abolish oppression. Behold me, if thou weighest me and reckonest the amount, behold, I am lacking (?).

THE KING'S COMMAND.

Now the Sekhti made this speech in the time of the majesty of the king Neb-ka-n-rā of blessed memory.† The High Steward went away straight to the king and said: "My master, I have found one of these Sekhti (peasants) excellent of speech of very truth, whose goods have been stolen, behold he has come to petition me about it."

His majesty said: "As thou desirest to see me in health, let him spin it out long, without answering anything that he says: he who wishes him to continue speaking should be silent; why then, bring it to us in writing that we may hear it. But provide living for his wife and children; think you that one of the Sekhtis has come (here) to empty his house of the (last) jug of beer?; and let the Sekhti himself also have a living; thou must cause some one to give him provisions without letting him know that you are giving them to him.

There were given to him four loaves and two *tes* of beer each day; the Chief Steward Meruitensa provided it: he gave it to a friend of his, and he (the latter) gave it to him. Then the High Steward Meruitensa sent to the governor of the Sekhet of Salt to make provision for the wife of the Sekhti, three measures of corn each day.

FURTHER APPEALS.

The Sekhti came to petition him the *second* time, and said, "My lord High Steward, greatest of the great rudder of heaven, pivot (?) (peg ?) of earth, measuring cord which gets rid of bends; the rudder turns awry, the pivot falls over, the cord misleads."

* Spearing or angling for fish, and fowling with the throw-stick were the standard amusements in early Egypt.

† From the story it seems likely that this king, who is otherwise unknown, resided at Heracleopolis; he may therefore be of the IXth or Xth dynasty of Heracleopolite kings.

Meruitensa replies, and Sekhti again speaks at this interview.

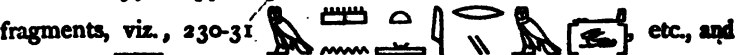
After the *third* petition the story continues :—

Sekhti made this speech to the High Steward Meruitensa at the entrance of the judgment hall : thereupon he caused two *employés* to get up and go to him with staves, and they beat him all over with them. (The Sekhti was roused to further eloquence by this operation.)

Came the Sekhti to complain to Meruitensa the *fourth* time and found him coming out of the gate of the temple of Her-she-f :* Said he, "O gracious one, may Hershef, from whose dwelling thou comest, be gracious to thee," etc.

"Behold thou hast taken my helm, turn not the boat astray, etc.

"These are four times that I have petitioned thee : am I to continue in it for ever?"

Of the *fifth* appeal portions of two lines are in the Amherst fragments, viz., 230-31  etc., and

 but I will not venture to translate the context.

Of the *sixth* appeal the Amherst fragment gives 243. 

 244.  245.  correcting two mistakes in the parallel text.

He said : "My lord chief steward, suppressing injustice and making justice to exist, making every good thing to exist and annihilating every evil, as fulness comes destroying famine, as clothing covers nakedness, † as serenity of sky after a high wind warms all the shivering, as fire cooks what is raw, † and as water quenches the thirst : look with thy face upon my lot ; do not covet, content me, do not fail : rectify, do no evil : does the guardian diminish what is just ?" etc.

Omitting two petitions, we arrive at the *ninth*, in which, after many reproaches, the Sekhti ends, "Behold I speak to thee and thou dost not reply : shall I continue, my tongue (running on in speech) to thee like (the endless barking of a jackal ? of) Anubis ?" ‡

* The chief deity of Heracleopolis.

† to † This is the portion transcribed above ll. 243-5.

‡ The phrase is obscure, but such a comparison of the monotonous high-pitched and *voluble* howling of jackals, as heard at night, with the interminable talk of an injured Oriental would be excellent.

The chief steward caused two men that had been given to him to move away: and Sekhti feared that he intended that they should beat him for the words that he had spoken. Sekhti said (4 lines.)

THE JUDGMENT.

Said the High Steward Meruitensa: "Fear not, Sekhti, for what thou hast done. The Sekhti has made I take oath as I eat bread and as I drink water, thou [shall be remembered] to eternity; said the High Steward Meruitensa, moreover thou thou shalt (?) hear thy complaints. He caused to be written on a clean roll of papyrus each petition to the [end] (*r hrt phu* ?), and the High Steward Meruitensa sent it to the majesty of the king Neb-ka-n-rā, of blessed memory, and it was good within [him] more than anything that is in this whole land: [but his majesty] said (to Meruitensa) judge it thyself, I do not desire it. The [High Steward] Meruitensa caused two *employés* to go to the Sekhet [Hem]at (??) and bring a *census* of the household of [the Sekhti (?)] or ("bring one who should make a census of Suti"); its amount was six persons, besides [his and his and] his wheat and his barley and [his and his] and his dogs and [his and he gave the . . . of the Suti to the Sekhti [together with] all his [property], and [the office] of the Suti? (end of fragments).

Probably a few more lines would have finished the story: we cannot for a moment doubt the complete triumph of the Sekhti over his oppressor. The Chief Steward had been the "discoverer" of the Sekhti's powers. The king had gracefully refused to interfere in the judgment, and the Sekhti was perhaps now put in the place of the Suti, so that he immediately became a well-to-do slave or serf of the just master Meruitensa.

But was nothing else within his reach? Sekhti's oratory is certainly of a strange order. Nine-tenths of his appeals are still unintelligible, but they appear to contain no argument and no notable thought: they consist to all appearance of an immense stock of what we must regard as commonplaces in Ancient Egypt, disposed in alternating bundles of flattery, prayer, and reproach. Yet Sekhti may figure as the *inventor* of these commonplaces. The first out-

burst of eloquence amazed Meruitensa, and 300 lines * of it, digested at leisure, charmed Pharaoh beyond anything. Surely then it might win for the central figure of an Eastern tale some highly honourable post near the king, perhaps the office of court poet, which must have existed then in some form.

Whatever it was, the end of the tale is lost : for the rest, the writing is difficult, the text is corrupt, and the vocabulary teems with obscurities : the story of the Sekhti in fact belongs to that large class of Egyptian texts which as yet afford us but occasional glimpses of their meaning.

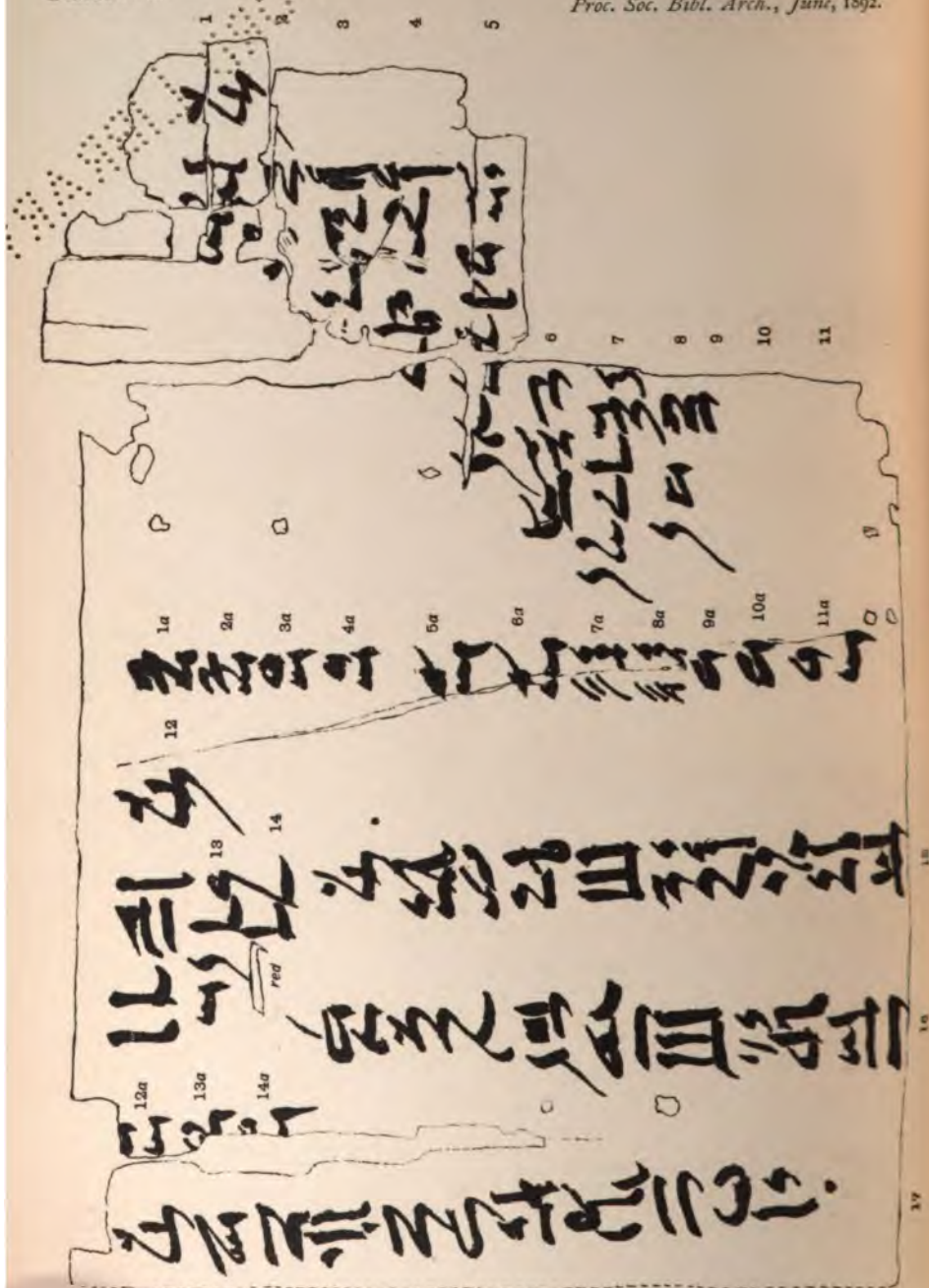
THE VERSO OF THE BUTLER PAPYRUS.

The text on the *verso* of the Butler papyrus is mutilated and obscure. I do not think that it can have any connection with the story of the Sekhti, especially as the lines are numbered independently of those on the *recto*. The transcription so far as it goes may be useful, but I am unable to find any clear indication of the subject and leave it to be discussed on a future occasion.

* Not of poetry, but of writing. The work is poetical in style, but not versified.

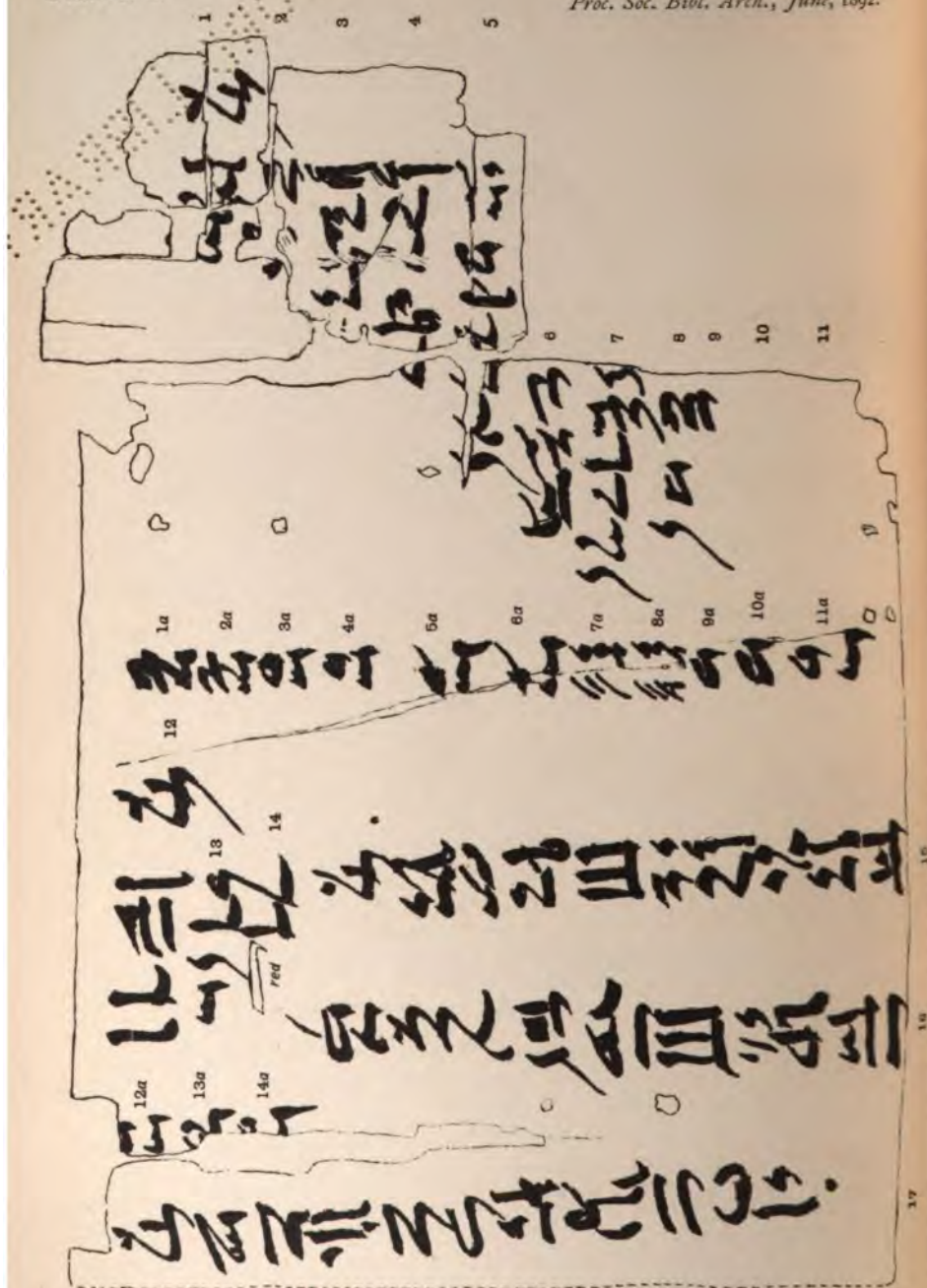


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T. E. M. S. F. L., Inc. 1982

[illegible]



CHANDLER

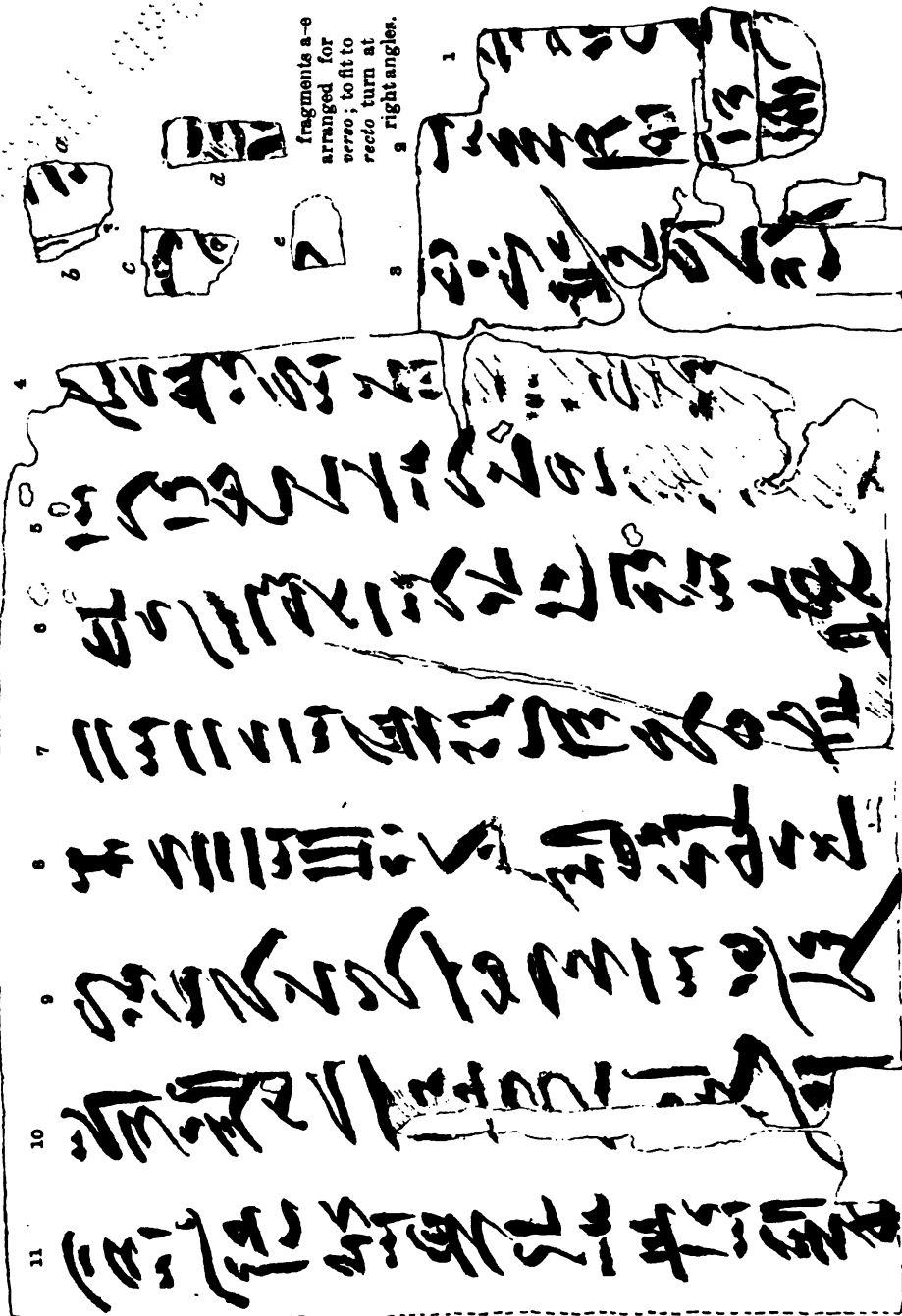
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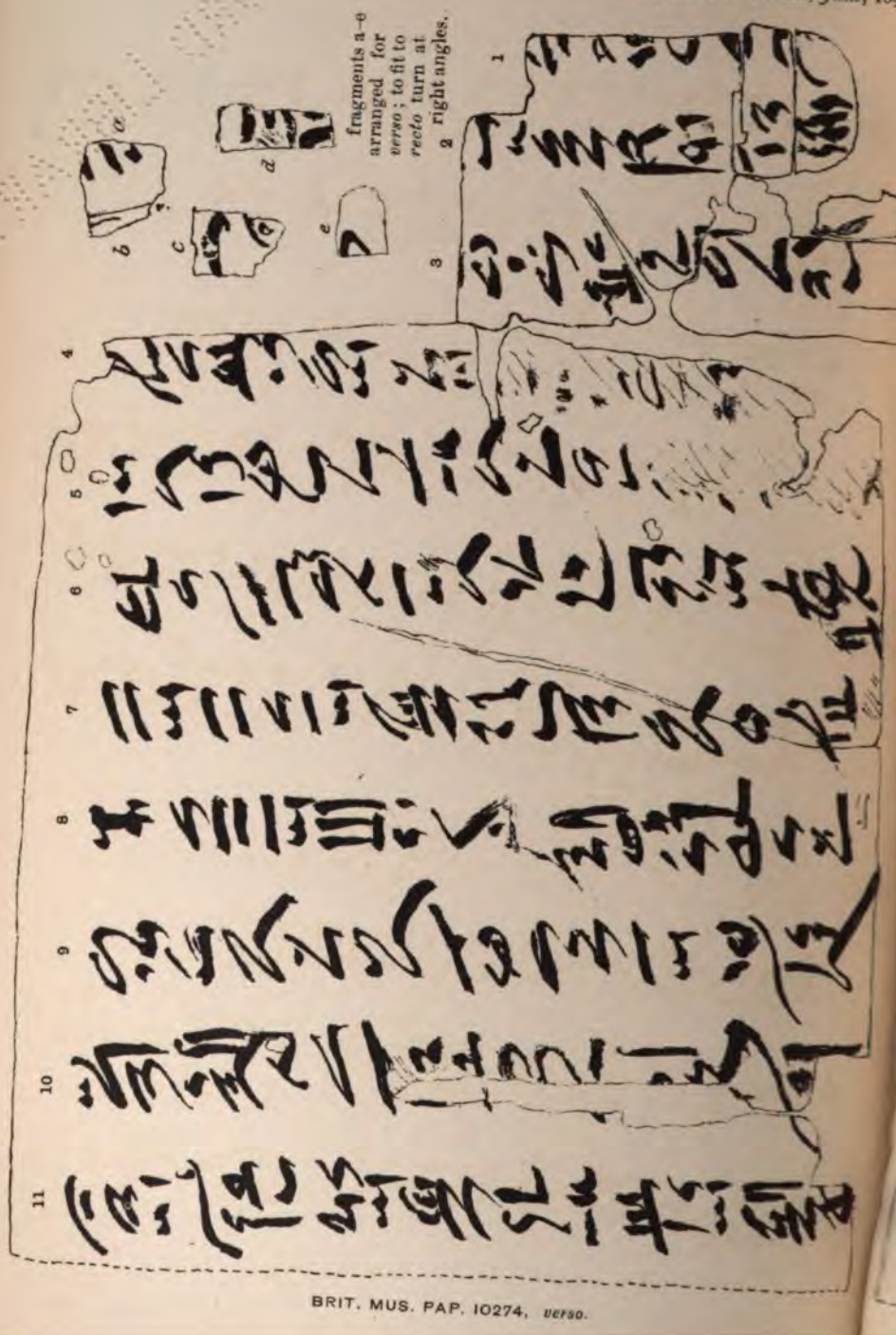
1. 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕

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Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Sumerian or Akkadian, arranged in six horizontal lines. The text is written on a fragment of a larger tablet, with the edges of the original tablet visible as a dashed line. The script is dense and characteristic of the late third millennium BCE.



[illegible]



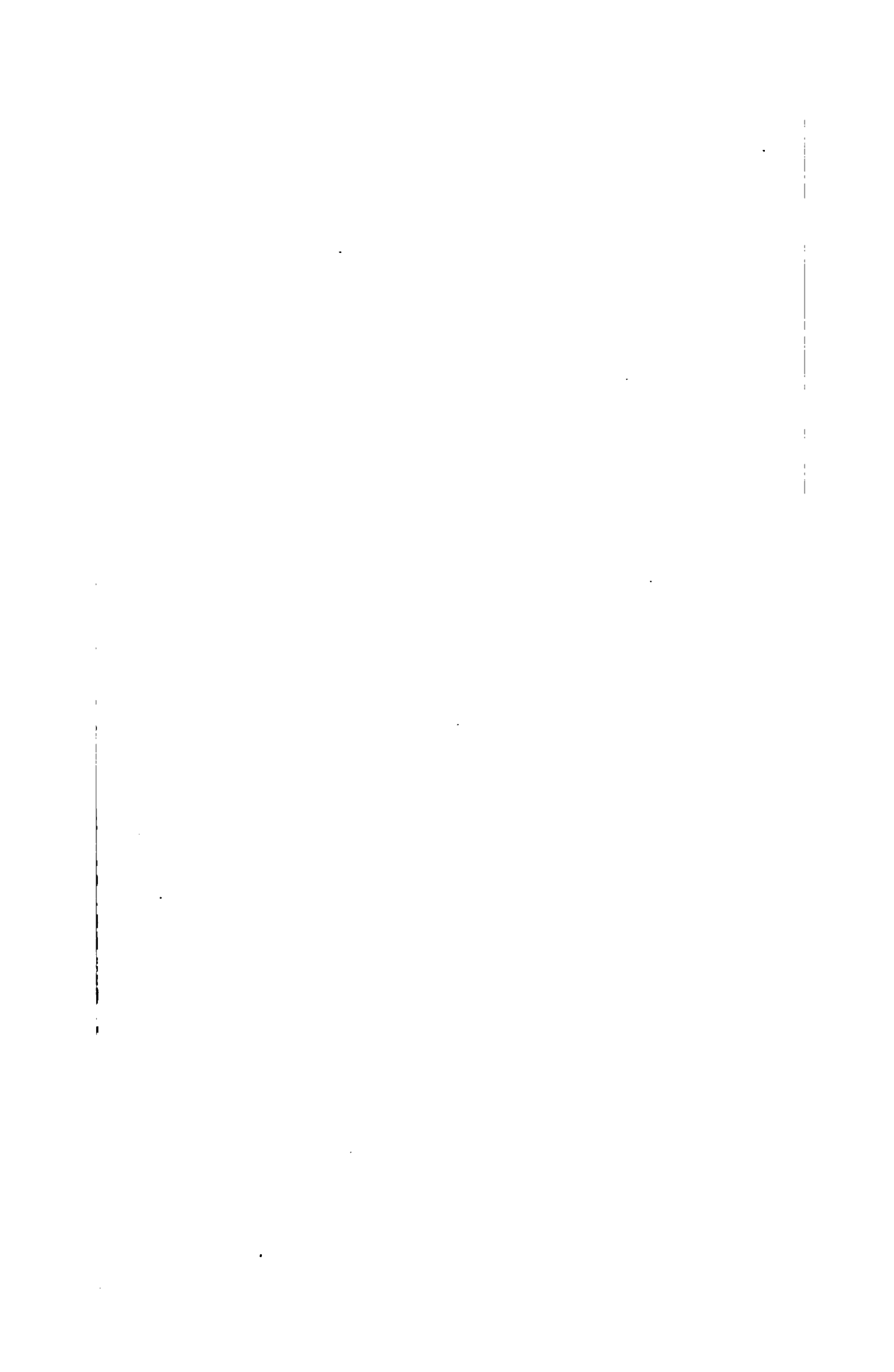
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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Hebrew or Aramaic, arranged in ten lines. The text is written on a piece of parchment or paper that is slightly torn and discolored. The lines are numbered 12 through 21 on the left margin. The script is dense and flowing, with many ligatures and variations in stroke thickness. The text appears to be a fragment of a larger document, as evidenced by the irregular edges and the presence of some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

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ANOTHER FRAGMENT OF THE STORY OF ALEXANDER.

By W. E. CRUM.

I had lately occasion to look through the Coptic "Fragments" in the collections of the British Museum, and was fortunate enough to come upon a sheet of paper (Or. 3367,) in good preservation, which adds some fifty lines to the texts published by M. Bouriant in the *Journal Asiatique*, (8^{ième} série, ix, p. 1 and x, p. 340,) and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The newly found sheet is, in all respects, similar to those already known (*cf.* l.l., the *facsimile*). It clearly formed part of the book to which the others belonged, measuring as it does about 7 × 5 in., — the Paris sheets are 18 c. × 125 m.,—and being written in a character identical with that of the other texts.

The dialect employed is Sahidic, yet characterised by a marked tendency towards Boheiric forms, both in orthography and punctuation, * as also in the formation of certain of the letters. Upon these points, however, it is needless to enlarge; they have already been dealt with by M. Bouriant.

The Paris fragments contain eight episodes, more or less complete and intelligible. According to the translation published by M. Maspero in the last edition of his "Contes populaires" (Paris, 1889,) their sequence is as follows:—

1. Adventures of Alexander in India. Mention is made of the Brahmins and of a certain Kalynos.
2. Alexander, disguised as a messenger, is detained at a foreign court and becomes acquainted with Eleazar, the Persian.
3. Alexander, supposed to be dead, is concealed by Antiochos.
(*See below.*)

* The mark used by the scribe above all letters is the same. It is, in truth, rather a dot than a line; a fact which, added to the mode of its employment in such words as *ἐλλεττε*, *τορεθ*, *ἐνατ*, *ἐροϋ*, is a farther indication of northern influence.

4. Menander's dream. Reception of the news of Alexander's death. (*See below.*)
5. Alexander, disguised as a soldier, overhears Agrikolaos, king of the Persians, congratulating the troops on their freedom from the Macedonian yoke. Then, discovering himself to his friends, he orders the execution of the Persian king, while he rewards and exalts Eleazar.* (*See below.*)
6. Antipater, exhorted to seek his father (? Alexander), declares him to be long since dead.
7. The plot of Antipater to poison Alexander.
8. The poisoning of Alexander.

Of these incidents, only the last two can be identified in the Greek romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes. The others belong to some unknown version. (*See P.S.*)

As our new-found fragment is concerned with farther adventures of the king and his three companions, Menander, Selpharios and Diatrophe, I will, before dealing with it, give a translation of those portions of the Paris texts in which these actors appear.

In passages of difficulty, where no other interpretation suggested itself, I have followed that of the former translators, indicating the sources respectively by the letters B. and M.

Journ. As., 8^{ème} série, ix, p. 14. (*v. Masp.*, "Contes," p. 326.)

(RECTO.)

"Alexander has died in the Chaosm (*sic*)."¹ All that heard cried aloud, and the king, when he had heard (it), was grieved at heart and bewailed the kingdom with Antilochos. Said he, "I was anxious to despatch the great king into the Chaos (*sic*), and I (now) fear lest his army come upon us." Said Antilochos to him, "I was eager in begging thee to pardon him and thou hast not decided to take my advice nor hast thou turned thy face toward me." Said the king to him, "Why hast thou not found means to pardon him?" But at night, they brought Alexander to the house of Antilochos, and he took him and put him in a vault and supplied him with all

* The group $\overline{\Pi}\overline{\Sigma}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Sigma}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, used here (Bouriant, l.l., ix, p. 10) to denote the manner of binding the captive women, appears to me to represent the Arabic سِلْسِلَة plur. سِلَاسِل *vinculum*. A genuine Egyptian word could not have such a vocalisation.

good things. Now the news was spread abroad in all the country that Alexander was dead; and all that heard it were as stones (ω ?) what had happened.

After this Menander saw a dream in this wise, a vision, which he beheld in this fashion. A lion, bound with an iron (chain), and he saw him as he was cast down into a pit. And lo, a man talked with him, saying, "Menander, how is it that thou art not gone down with the lion? Dost thou not see that his purple is fallen?" * he spoke in haste [$\text{? } \Sigma\text{N } \text{OY} \text{E} \text{ENH}$] with Selpharios and Diatrophe, saying, "Ye sleep?"

(*VERSO.*)

They said, "What has happened, oh, Protopilosophos?" (M.) Said he, weeping, "I shall shall befall the enemies of Alexander † the vision of those that hate him passing by in a dream. I was like to a stone, by reason of grief." Said Menander to them, "The lion which I saw was the king." They held converse till the morning, (when) lo, a messenger came to Selpharios, Menander and Diatrophe, crying out, weeping and saying, "Who will (? could) hear these words that I have heard and be silent? For (? though) the speaking of them is terror, and the bringing forth of them shame." ‡

Quoth Menander, "What is the word (you bring), my son? I no longer know what has befallen the king Alexander." Said the messenger to them, "Men it was, worthy of death, that laid hands upon my lord, the king, in Gedrosia and have slain him." Then Menander took his purple robe, and rent it, and Selpharios and Diatrophe (took) their cloaks and rent them and lamented, and it seemed to them as if the earth were moved (*lit.*, and they were as if

* Bouriant's completion of the gap is not quite satisfactory. $\Sigma\epsilon$ may imply a verb before it. Perhaps the space might be filled thus: $\Sigma\text{W } \overline{\text{NEN}} \Sigma\text{W}$ [$\Sigma\text{N } \Sigma\epsilon$ &c., or $\overline{\Sigma\text{NEN}} \Sigma\text{W}$ [$\text{ON } \Sigma\epsilon$ &c. In any case, a negative ΣN is out of place with the preceding $\overline{\Sigma\text{NEN}}$.

† B.'s $\Sigma\text{NEN} \Sigma\text{W}$ can only stand here if there is also space for a following ϵ .

‡ My translation here supposes $\overline{\text{NEJ}}$ for NEJ , and regards ΣOOY and $\text{T} \Sigma\text{OOY}$ (= $\text{T} \Sigma\text{YOOY}$) as nominal infinitives with suffix, although the article is wanting. Of ΣOOY for $\epsilon \Sigma\text{OOY}$ (B.) there is no instance in these texts.

the earth were moved). Said Diatrophe, "I will go and bring news of my lord." And he took with him a chiliarch (M.) and three soldiers, and went to Gedrosia. They heard the news, and learned everything and returned (B.) to the army. When Menander heard these things,* he saying, ...

l.l., p. 19. (v. Masp., p. 330).

(RECTO.)

When evening was come, Alexander arrayed himself in a soldier's cloak, and went out, walking through the camp. Now Selpharios commanded in proclamation (B.) that no one should drink wine, nor put on † fine raiment for forty days of mourning for the king Alexander. But Alexander went his way and saw Agrikolaos, the king of the Persians, upbraiding (so B., but ?) his army and saying to them, "Arise now, ye men of courage, and eat and drink, since the yoke is fallen from you, namely Alexander, whom they have killed.

"What is it which is thus in your . . . ? hearts, that ye be servants to Macedonia and Egypt?" Quoth Agrikolaos (*sic. lege* Alexander),

"It shall not be to-day that thou eatest and drinkest, thou good man, of steadfast heart." And he arose and went to those of Macedonia, and said to them, "Why will ye not eat nor drink, seeing he that slew you in war is dead? Behold, now he is slain; be glad and rejoice!" They said to him, "Thou art mad;" and when they had said this, they set about casting stones at him

Alexander remained (? concealed himself) till midnight, went to the house of Antilochos and mounted upon Chiron.

(VERSO.)

He went to the place where Menander was, for their (*sic*) eyes were heavy. He said to Menander and Selpharios and Diatrophe, "Ye are my strength." (? = It is on you that I rely.) Said Menander, "Thy voice it was that I heard." Said Diatrophe, "My father, what has happened to thee? It is an imagination that I heard." When they were silent, he repeated (his story), saying, "I am Alexander, whom the men of Gedrosia slew; but Antilochos preserved my life. Chiron, tell now ‡ what has befallen me." But when morning was come, he sat upon the throne of his kingship;

* B.'s restitution leaves no room for $\overline{\text{NCT}}$.

† B.'s $\overline{\text{NCTEPCT}}$ is not suitable. The gap would be filled by $\overline{\text{NCTCT}}$.

‡ ? $\overline{\text{EPOCT}}$ for $\overline{\text{EPOCT}}$.

and Alexander had the herald cry aloud forthwith, saying, "King Alexander has arrived!" At once the crowd came, and Agrikolaos came too and said, "We beheld thy face and lived." But king Alexander said to him, "Thou hast emerged from thy wine (= drunkenness) of the evening, when thou saidest, The yoke of Alexander is departed from us, ye (may?) eat and drink." The king bade forthwith that his head be cut off with the sword. Quoth the king, "Take now vinegar, in place of (the) wine that thou drankest till thou wast drunk." And king Alexander said, "Bring me the Alarichs." (M. sing.) They brought him (or his)

I will now give the text and translation of the new fragment, retaining the diacritical marks of the original. The number of dots in the lacunæ indicate the probable number of letters missing. (The word-division is mine.)

RECTO.

1. ἀγρῳπῆ[ρε αἰ ε ρῆ¹¹ sic
 ρε περτοοτ [περτωοτ] βολ^a εβολ π
 ρετες^b ετε παι πε [φικωπ] γηοπ τικρηс
 απ πετφρατης ατσεεοοτ τε εβολ π
 5. ρητοτ ατω ατοτπογ αεεοοτ εβολ σε
 χε^c ερε τπιτε^d αεεοοτ ετεεεεατ ρολεσ
 αεππс^e ατπατ ετποб πκαке πεχατ
 χε αεψб^f αεεοп ε βок^g εροτη πε
 χε αεπαптpос χε αεαρεπεπε пгп

a. = βωλ.

b. = ρηтс.

c. cf. εβολ γαρ χε, Stern, §. 609, end.

d. = πηγῇ.

e. = αππсωс.

f. = απψб^оαε. The ψ has been written over an π.

g. = βωκ.

10. Ϸτωρ ετμεοσε πτεπταλον εροοτ
 πσεααααεϷτε ππετϷκρε Ϸιβολ αποπ
 τε^h πτεπχωρεα εϷοτη επκακε αⁱ
 [1 letter] τρϷκρε κε πεϷετμετοα^j εαατε
 κε ππε ρωαε ιορεϷ^k α^{sic}πϷο ππετερητ
 15. [πεχ]ε αλτϷαντροс κε αμοτ πεαααα
 [πτ]οκ αεπ^l αηκπαπτροс α^{sic}π σελφαριοс
 αεπ α^{sic}ιατροφη αταλε δε εχп ετο^{ll} π
 Ϸτωρ εετμεοσε πετϷκρε δε πετοτ
 ηϷ Ϸεαποτοε^{ll}π εтсoteα εтсeαη π
 20. πετερηт ατχωρεα εϷοτη επκακε
 ατωτεα δε εтсeαη εсхωαααα
 κε αλτϷαν^{sic} αεπ αηκπαпτροс α^{sic}π σελφα
 ριοс α^{sic}π α^{sic}ιατροφη Ϸω еρωτεп αα
 πιαα πεχε αλτϷαντροс κε παпαϷω^m
 25. [ερο]i αν ααптаб^{ll}ne α^{sic}πεα^{sic}Ϸηneⁿ
 [πсωϷ α]Ϸχωρεα оп η^o κεκοτι[αϷα]

h. = δέ.

i. One is inclined here to read ατω ατρϷκρε; and though there is not space in either line for ω, its omission is probably a slip of the writer. Or else the first ατ is superfluous, the gap lacking merely an α.

j. = Ϸτατωα.

k. = ειωρϷ, in Fut. III after χε. v. Stern, §. 611.

l. ? = μέν. The number of the actors in the scene forbids the Coptic Conjunction.

ll. Note gender of the numerals

m. = πτπαϷω.

n. = α^{sic}πετ^{sic}Ϸηne.

o. ? = ε.

20. **τ**ρ^{ος} **ε**ρ^υγ^{αν} **π**ε^ρτ^ο **β**η^η' **ε**π^ωτ **ω**γ^α
κω^{ρε}π **π**ε^ργ^η **α**τ^ω **π**ε^χε **τ**ε^σα^η **ο**η **χ**ε
αι^{αι}* **α**π^ετ^εκ^ον^αω^εγ **π**ε^χε **α**λ^τζ^{αν}
τρ^{ος} **χ**ε **α**α **π**αι **π**τ^εζ^{ον}τ^{ια} **ε**χ^επ **π**
κα^ρ **τ**ε^ρε^γ^{αα} **α**τ^ω **π**τ^ε **π**α^χα^χε **ρ**η^πο^τα^ς
ςε^{bb} **π**αι **π**ε^χε **τ**ε^σα^η **π**α^ρ **χ**ε **ε**β^ολ^χε **α**α
 25. **π**ε^κα^ι **α**α^οι **π**ο^τη^{πο}β **π**α^ρε **α**λ^λα **ε**ι^ς
πκ^αρ **τ**ε^ρε^γ^{αα} **α**κ^ηα^τε^ρο^γ **ρ**η **π**ε^κβ^αλ[**α**τ^ω]^{αα}
ακ^ερ^χο^ει^ς **ε**ρ^ογ **α**λ^λα **ρ**γ^αν **π**[**ω**π^ε]^{αα}
[τι] **ε**β^ολ **α**π^ερ^εφ^οτ^οε^ιν **τ**ο^τε^{αα}

y. I am not clear as to the use of this verb. cf. Peyron, s.v.

z. = αἰτεῖν.

aa, cc. = τήρη.

bb. = ὑποτάσσειν.

dd. There is hardly room for ω.

cc. ω (or ω) partly visible.

(RECTO.)

He wondered the four rivers which flow forth from it, these being the Pison, Gihon, Tigris and the Euphrates. They drank water from them and were glad, because that spring of water was sweet. Afterwards they beheld a great Darkness and said, "We cannot enter (it)." Quoth Menander, "Let us bring some mares that have young,* and let us mount them, and let their young

* The Qualitative of αἰICE is very rare and its value here, to me at least, not clear. Since the verb is found as a transitive and an intransitive, its Qualitative may = "brought forth" and also "in the state of parentage" (v. Stern, § 348). The latter appears to be the meaning in Zoega, p. 38, l. 14: οὐδ' αἰατλι εσμεοσι εἶρε πεσκοτχι αἰααο οτερ ἦσως. In a newly acquired MS. in the British Museum (whose perusal was kindly allowed me by Dr. Budge), a passive sense seems suitable; εἰπῶν εἰπῶν ατω εἰκη εβλ ερε πῆνριον πῆντοτ ατω ερε πῆαωρ αοσε πῆντοτ.

ones* be kept without, and let us, for our part, penetrate into the Darkness." And (?) they wondered, for it was very dark, so that one would not see the other's face. Said Alexander, "Come with me, thou, Menander, and Selpharios and Diatrophe." They mounted on four mares that had young, but their young ones remained in the light, hearing each other's voice (*i.e.*, the parents and the foals); and they went into the Darkness. And they heard the voice saying, "Alexander and Menander and Selpharios and Diatrophe! Content yourselves (to have arrived) at this place!" Said Alexander, "I will not be content until I find that which I seek." And he advanced still a little farther and stood still Said the voice to him

(*VERSO.*)

for the second time (?), "Content thyself, oh, Alexander!" But Menander did not wish to stand still, and he looked below the feet of the horses and saw things shining. Said Alexander, "Let us take these shining things, for they are gems." And Selpharios filled his hand and took four, while Menander (took) three, Diatrophe two. But Alexander himself stretched out his left hand and filled it and took three (and) his right hand five of them. His left hand was as his right, and when he went to war, from that hour forth, he used to fight with his two hands. Now Alexander smelled a great smell of incense, and the voice caught the ear of Alexander for the third time, saying, "Let it suffice thee, oh, Alexander! If the horse should take to galloping (?), he will injure his body." And the voice said farther, "Ask what thou wilt." Said Alexander, "Give me power over the whole earth and let my enemies be in subjection to me." Said the voice to him, "Because thou hast not demanded of me great length of life; but lo, the whole earth, thou hast seen it with thine eyes and (?) hast ruled over it. But when the stone (?) yields up (?) its light, then"

* $\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ here must refer to the foals. It is similarly used in (Boheir.) Levit. xxii, 28, with reference to cattle. The $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ or $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$ of the Bible are in Coptic rather $\wp\epsilon\rho\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$: $\wp\epsilon\lambda\psi\eta\rho\iota$ and $\wp\pi\wp\lambda$: $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau$ (*e.g.*, Acts v, 10, and Gen. xviii, 7); otherwise one might be tempted here to see a reference to attendants, "young men," and to translate $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, "young, (lately) born horses." Yet to this the 3rd pers., $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, would be opposed.

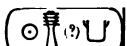
—After writing the above, my attention was drawn by Dr. [unclear] to the Syriac version of the Alexander story, published by him [unclear] "Alexander the Great," 1889). The Discourse attributed to Jacob Serugh contains an episode evidently of identical origin with that in our text as to the expedition into the "Darkness" (c. 1.1., pp. lxxix, and 170 ff.) though the Syriac story is amplified by various details wanting in the Coptic text.



DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

From the "Account of some recent discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature," by Thomas Young, page 11, we know, that Young's first serious studies in Egyptology date from the beginning of the year 1814. The results were communicated by Mr. Boughton, as those of "a learned friend," on the 24th April, to the Society of Antiquaries, and printed in the *Archæologia*, XVIII, p. 59-72, together with an appendix written by Young during the summer of the same year.

Some weeks ago I obtained a reprint of this publication, which bears the autograph dedication of Dr. Young to Silvestre de Sacy. On the margin at the beginning of the Appendix (p. 6 of the reprint = p. 64 of the *Archæologia*, l. 2 from below) I find the date "7 Nov." written by Young, indicating the time when this part was finished. Further on he noted—and this is especially interesting for the chronology of the progress Young made in decyphering the hieroglyphs—at the end of the memoir, "The inscription on the base of the golden image, Pl. 4, is King living for ever; the name  may possibly be something like Menoth; but this is very uncertain, and it is sufficiently identified by the figure of the image. T. Y."

The inscription to which Young refers is found on a small kneeling golden statue of a king from Dendera, who holds in each hand a small libation-vase. On the underside is written from right to left   . The middle sign of the cartouche is indistinctly given in the publication. If it is really , the cartouche probably does not represent the prenomen of King Assa of the 5th dynasty, but rather a variant of that of Schabataka

; if it is intended for , it gives the prenomen of Labako. Young has changed, in its reading, the direction of the signs, which he seems to have taken for demotic, and of which the first is given in a similar form to *m* in his alphabet on pl. 3. The reading of the cartouche is faulty in all cases, but he had already at that time, as we see by his above mentioned note, decyphered in a right manner , "King," and , "living for ever," a sense

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corresponding to the "ever living," given to it in the letter to Bougham, and more correct than that of "immortal" he gave to the sentence in his article "Egypt" in 1818.

The Papyrus Bougham itself, of which only very small fragments are left, appears to have contained a historical or perhaps a fictive text.

Yours truly, A. WIEDEMANN.

MÉDÛM. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

London, 1892 (52 pp. text and 37 plates, of which 11 are in colours).

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

You having requested me to write a short notice of Mr. Petrie's new work for the *Promisiings*; I do so the more willingly (in spite of having been personally responsible for the preparation of a small portion of it) because my study of the plates of inscriptions led me to various conclusions that could not be well developed in my account of the texts. These conclusions, checked by a perusal of the entire work as it is now laid before the public, will form part of the present notice.

Médûm, as the modern Egyptians pronounce the name which a few centuries ago was Meidûm مِيدُوم, is well known to travellers. The village is marked by a stone pyramid of peculiar form, which rises like a tower built in stages to a considerable height above the undulating desert near the entrance to the Fayûm. Mr. Flinders Petrie spent the winter of 1890-91 in endeavours to ascertain the history and construction of the pyramid, and in examining the tombs and other remains surrounding it. The accumulations of sand and fallen blocks, piled to a height of forty feet at the base, made the task of excavation at the pyramid difficult and dangerous, but the explorer was at length rewarded by the discovery of a little temple of primitive construction built against the middle of the side which faces the valley of the Nile. This building was perfect, and

although there were no inscriptions cut in the stone, visitors of a later period had recorded their names, designating the pyramid as that of Seneferu. There is reason to believe that the step pyramid of Sakkarah goes back to the age of king T'aser, but with this exception, Seneferu's pyramid and temple are the earliest dateable monuments in Egypt.

At the foot of Seneferu's pyramid lay the mastaba-tombs in which rested many magnates of his court. One of the chief wonders of the Gizeh museum is the painted limestone group of Prince Rahotep and his wife Nefert, discovered there by Vassali. Mr. Petrie cleared a number of the tombs, ascertained their true form, found the well-concealed mummy pits in them, and copied the scenes and inscriptions. The few objects that were obtained in the course of these excavations were carefully preserved as unique relics of a primæval time, and the collections of drawings, the bones of the contemporaries of Seneferu, their pottery and tools, were brought to England, and there subjected to a minute scrutiny.

The bones have still to be reported on, but the remainder of the collection is now made available for study in the book.

The contents of the volume are not entirely confined to the discoveries at Médûm: it comprises also accounts of certain classes of remains found by Mr. Petrie in former seasons, and now at length worked out *en masse*. Dr. W. J. Russell explains the composition of colours from examples of various epochs, and Dr. A. Wiedemann that of different varieties of kohl (eye paint), while Mr. W. E. Crum has taken in hand the Coptic papyri. Dr. Gladstone (some of whose analyses of copper and bronze implements have appeared in these *Proceedings*), Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell and the present writer have also contributed to a greater or less extent to the text of this varied and important publication.

But what will charm the eye and mind of every beholder are the plates in which the scenes and inscriptions are reproduced, especially those few of Rahotep's tomb (XI-XIV) in which the outlines have sustained scarcely any damage. These are no conventions of the modern copyist, they are the very lines of the old draughtsmen and sculptors, made when Egypt was bursting into full consciousness of her power for monumental art. The colouring of the plates is less precise, yet serves well to indicate what is most important on this score.

Having now summarily indicated the contents of the volume, I will proceed to comment on a few details.

First with regard to the hog (PL. xxi and page 31). In early sculptures the pig is found only three times, in each case associated with the name of Seneferu. That this should be merely a coincidence is impossible. There are three important tombs of the time of Seneferu, namely, those of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Mèdûm, and that of Amten at Abusir. Rahotep and Amten alone mention Seneferu, and in these alone the pig is figured. From the very numerous tombs of the later IVth, the Vth, and the VIth dynasties the pig is entirely absent, excepting one tomb at Dahshur, of Tua-ra, a priest

of Seneferu's pyramid, dating from the Vth dynasty (*Mem. Miss.*

Arch. au Caire, I, 191). In Amten the word  in the sense of

"domestic animals" is determined by the signs  an ass

and a pig. In Rahotep the name of an estate is          

"pig-bane," in Tua-ra an estate is called    "pig-de-

stroyer." These two names perhaps show the attitude of the Egyptian farmers towards the predatory wild boar. The pig, which is not found in any tomb of the XIIth dynasty, reappears only at the approach of the New Kingdom, especially at El Kab.

On PL. VIII are seen the guiding lines drawn by an architect to fix the slope of a mastaba-wall. They can be well illustrated by the section No. 60 of the Rhind Papyrus. In this the triangular figure

or monument  called  has the *mastaba* slope of 1 in 4: the

perpendicular is called           "length of

height," the base is    "foundation," while the ratio (1 : 4)

of the half base to the vertical is         "principle (of construction)," literally that which "qualifies" or "characterises" it.

I am able to correct a little mistake made by the author on p. 34. The base of a statuette of Seneferu-Kheti which Mr. Petrie was disposed to attribute to the Ancient Kingdom on the ground of the name Seneferu, is really much later. Names compounded with the name of Seneferu are very common in the Kahun Papyri of the XIIth

and XIIIth dynasties, owing to the proximity of his pyramid at Médûm. Kheti as a name is hardly known before the Xth dynasty, at Asyût, and the compound name Seneferu-Kheti is of a form that cannot be earlier than the time of Amenemhat III, while it may be as late as the end of the XIIIth dynasty.

Beyond the lists of royal names there is hardly any historical record known of the Ancient Memphite Kingdom; even the dynastic divisions of Manetho are not to be depended on. But for manners and customs, arts and crafts, the tombs of Médûm furnish the most wonderful illustrations from the very commencement of the monumental period in Egypt.

Yours, etc., F. L. GRIFFITH.

À QUI LA PRIORITÉ, À M. MASPERO OU À MOI ?

Dans une note qui vient de paraître,* le titulaire actuel de la chaire de Champollion dit ceci : "J'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier, en 1877 et 1878, dans mes cours au Collège de France, la préformante  M,  Mâ, de l'Egyptien, et de *montrer* qu'un certain nombre de mots *qu'on croyait simples*, sont en réalité des composés de cet  M et d'un autre mot. Entre autres exemples, j'avais cité *dès lors* le titre  MIROU, dont l'orthographe   nous ramenait au titre ." Je crains que M. Maspero ne se trompe de mémoire, quant à l'époque où il aurait cité ce dernier exemple (!) comme preuve de la dite particularité lexicographique, 1°. parce que l'article de 1878 † où il traite "la forme factitive en , ne contient rien au sujet du titre  ; 2°. parce que l'article de 1880 ‡ où son élève M. CEUGNEY traite

* *Proceedings*, XIV, page 314.

† *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, III, page 126.

‡ *Recueil de Vieueg*, II, p. 1 et suiv.

la même matière — article qui paraît aspirer à vider la question — ne contient rien non plus par rapport au titre . Et quand même M. MASPERO, à la dite époque, eût énoncé la susdite explication de  par rapport à , cela ne l'autorise aucunement à chercher une connexion quelconque entre son *hypothèse*, restée sans preuves publiques, et ma *découverte*, fondée sur des raisons concluantes, entre les mains des collègues ; car c'est justement l'étude d'une série de monuments, où le titre  s'échange contre celui de  (p. ex.  à côté de ) , qui m'a porté à formuler la thèse que  est à  ce que  est à .

Je crois d'ailleurs que ma dite *découverte* réellement méritait ce nom en 1883, date où mon article de la *Zeitschrift* a été publié. En faveur de cette thèse, je citerai l'article "Der Sarkophag des Patu pep" de notre regretté confrère ERNST VON BERGMANN,* article qui a paru en 1882 et dans lequel (page 149, note 2) l'échange entre  et , pour des titres composés, a été inexactement expliqué. On peut en toute tranquillité prétendre que ce dernier savant, dont la valeur en égyptologie est incontestée, était parfaitement au courant du développement de notre science : par conséquent, si l'équation  =  aurait été établie longtemps avant mon article précité, il aurait sans doute dû la connaître.

L' "oratio pro domo" (voir *Recueil de Vieueg*, VIII, page 150) que débite M. MASPERO, quant à la préformante  , me paraît d'ailleurs mal à propos, s'il faut admettre, ce que je crois, que c'est au propriétaire de la maison qu'il appartient de faire valoir des prétentions de la posséder, non pas aux locataires.

Maintenant il est connu que BRUGSCH, déjà en 1868 (*Wörterbuch*, page 597), a établi l'existence d'une préformante   ; en sorte que les prétentions de M. MASPERO ici se montrent quelque peu tardives.

* *Recueil de Vieueg*, III, page 148 et suiv.

Il faut d'ailleurs regretter que ceux qui forment des élèves en égyptologie ne sont pas toujours plus intéressés à faire valoir les mérites de leurs prédécesseurs ou de leurs contemporains ; car cela amenera infailliblement les disciples à user de la même indifférence par rapport à des savants qui quelquefois occupent des places d'honneur dans la science moderne.

KARL PIEHL.

UPSAL, Mai, 1892.

NOTE.—The Council thinks it right from time to time to remind contributors that, in every instance, the author alone is responsible for his statements.

The Society itself takes no part in polemics, which may sometimes be unavoidable, but never desirable.

W. H. R.

NOTICE.

Owing to the Society having outgrown the accommodation provided in the rooms at 11, Hart Street, the Library and Offices have now been removed to the house No. 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C. The following is a copy of the circular recently issued to the Members, to which a list of the subscriptions already received is added. Further donations will be published in the future parts of the *Proceedings*.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY,

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

DEAR SIR,

In the year 1880 the Society removed from 33, Bloomsbury Street to 11, Hart Street, where it occupied two rooms, but during the past few years the Society's Library and Collections have greatly

reased, and the space became quite insufficient. It has therefore been long evident to the Council that a larger and more suitable house would be required for the purposes of the Society, and for some time past a search for fresh premises has been instituted. Fortunately a new and far more convenient home has been found at 37, Great Russell Street, W.C., just at the time when the lease in Hart Street had run out, and removal had become imperative.

It will however be necessary, in order to render the new abode of the Society fit for its purposes, to incur some expense, especially for new Book-cases, for Cabinets to contain and to show the Antiquities and Casts, so as to render them available to the Members, and also for Furniture, the old articles having become utterly worn out after twenty years' use.

It has further been arranged by the Council, that the Society, following the example of other learned bodies of the same class, for example the Palestine Exploration Fund, be made a Corporate body. This action among other advantages much simplifies the tenancy by the Society of the new house.

Since the Council are anxious to avoid drawing on the Funds of the Society, they hope that the Members will think fit to contribute to a **Special Fund** so as to raise the £250, which it is calculated **will be required to cover the necessary expenses.** Should a larger sum be subscribed it will prove extremely useful, as we have long desired to purchase several books which are almost indispensable to students, but which our limited resources have hitherto prevented our obtaining.

Subscriptions may be sent to me at the new Offices of the Society, 37, Great Russell Street, W.C.

I am Sir, yours faithfully,

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Secretary.*

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